Daily Report

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SDS Council Nominates Luchnikov as Premier

AU1812142092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] By nine votes against six, Svetoslav Luchnikov defeated Ilko Eskenazi in a secret ballot at today's meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The SDS National Coordinating Council accordingly decided to nominate Svetoslav Luchnikov as candidate prime minister of the future government. The leaders of the SDS parties and organizations discussed the alternative of nominating Ilko Eskenazi for prime minister, but in the ensuing ballot nine votes were cast for Svetoslav Luchnikov, minister of justice and deputy prime minister of the outgoing government, while Eskenazi received the votes of six of the parties in the coalition.

Mr. Luchnikov told journalists that he would take note of the decision of the SDS National Coordinating Council, which will be submitted to the SDS National Assembly deputies at a joint meeting of the SDS parliamentary group and leaders, which has already started in parliament. We await details of the meeting from our reporter later today.

Joint Meeting Rejects Luchnikov

AU1812184892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Telephone report by Olga Ivanova on joint meeting of Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) National Coordinating Council and parliamentary group in Sofia—live]

[Text] At their joint meeting today the National Coordinating Council and parliamentary group of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] spent almost four hours debating whom to recommend for nomination as prime minister. Following a secret ballot held an hour ago, the candidacy of Svetoslav Luchnikov proposed by the National Coordinating Council was voted down. As Khristo Ivanov explained, this does not mean that the Luchnikov candidacy has been shelved. A vote has been taken, but the SDS parliamentary group has not yet adopted a decision on it.

The meeting also discussed new candidates for nomination as prime minister, including Snezhana Botusharova, Aleksandur Dzherov, Georgi Markov, Ilko Eskenazi, and Asparukh Panov.

After the meeting Yordan Vasilev stated that he personally nominated Svetoslav Luchnikov as a candidate, and he considered the negative vote to be a fatal error. Accordingly, he said that he had announced to the parliamentary group that he was leaving the SDS and withdrawing from politics.

It was decided that the other candidacies proposed today will be discussed tomorrow by the individual SDS parties. On 20 December the National Coordinating Council will consider them and the SDS parliamentary group will meet again that afternoon.

According to Khristo Ivanov, today's meeting confirmed the view that the SDS parliamentary group could not independently reach a decision that is feasible and acceptable without the National Coordinating Council, nor could the National Coordinating Council do so without the parliamentary group.

A further piece of news is that after today's third meeting between the SDS and DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] contact groups, Ahmed Dogan told reporters that the DPS is considering a number of alternative candidates for prime minister, while not ruling out the Luchnikov candidacy.

The meeting between the SDS and DPS ended about 10 minutes ago. The SDS deputies contend that the most important thing at the moment is that the SDS coalition should attempt to unite around a single nominee, because a political force cannot propose candidates selected with dissenting votes. One demand they are making is that the person chosen should be acceptable to their DPS partners and in conformity with their views.

SDS Proposes Sokolov for Prime Minister

AU2012175192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] The extraordinary meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces has [SDS] ended.

At the morning session the participants discussed three candidacies for the post of prime minister—Ilko Eskenazi, Svetoslav Luchnikov, and the candidacy of [Interior Minister] Yordan Sokolov, which was again proposed by the Radical Democratic Party. According to Mikhail Nedelchev, SDS spokesman, Yordan Sokolov received the most votes. At present the consultations with Mr. Sokolov continue. Only the leaders of the blue coalition's parties participate in the consultations.

We just learned that the candidacy of Yordan Sokolov for the post of prime minister has been approved by the SDS parliamentary faction by 69 to 24 votes. After the end of the meeting the SDS contact group will propose Mr. Sokolov's candidacy to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms for the task of forming the new cabinet.

Further on Sokolov Candidacy

AU2012195292 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Katya Kazasova report]

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Outgoing Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov was nominated for the prime ministership by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today. The parliamentary SDS this evening approved Mr. Sokolov's nomination, 64-24 with six abstentions.

After a day-long meeting the SDS National Coordinating Council named Yordan Sokolov for prime minister and presented the nomination to the parliamentary SDS and later on to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

"We must do what is necessary to guarantee that this will not be just washing our hands but carrying on the SDS policy indeed," said Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council and outgoing prime minister, before the council and the parliamentary SDS started a joint session.

Just two days ago the parliamentary SDS rejected the nomination of Justice Minister Svetoslav Luchnikov, and yet the National Coordinating Council debated it again today along with the nominations of Deputy Prime Minister Ilko Eskenazi and Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov, who was put forward by the Radical Democratic Party last night. According to the Radical Democrats' leaders, Mr. Sokolov is the only person who can rally all parties and organizations in the coalition at this point irrespective of their differences. The vote in the Coordinating Council and the parliamentary faction proved them right: Of all parties in the SDS, only two did not support the nomination of Mr. Sokolov, an independent, and of all MP's [members of parliament] only 24 voted against.

The Ecoglasnost Independent Association remains committed to its belief that the formation of a coalition government between the SDS and the DPS on the DPS mandate is an unpardonable political mistake, the organization said in a memorandum sent to BTA today.

The document is signed by the Ecoglasnost leader Mr. Edvin Sugarev, SDS deputy floor leader, and was adopted by a unanimous vote by the leadership of the organization.

According to the memorandum, "the events of the last few months prove that the DPS is not a loyal political partner and that the honourability of its leaders cannot be counted upon at all." "Moreover," the document reads further on, "in our opinion the parliamentary DPS is incapable of expressing its own political will." According to the Ecoglasnost Independent Association, "certain Secret Service dependencies of the leaders of the parliamentary DPS turn it into an instrument for carrying out intentions which are disastrous for the SDS and the democratic future of Bulgaria, into a lever to restructure political space without new elections and to turn the SDS into a dependent and puppet political force."

In the morning, a group of SDS supporters in front of the SDS headquarters, where the National Coordinating Council was holding its meeting, chanted "We Want Elections" and waved placards and banners.

DPS' reaction to SDS's nomination was not immediately clear after this evening's meeting between the SDS and the DPS contact groups. The DPS officials flatly refused to give any advance comments. "Maybe early in the afternoon tomorrow you'll already know whether we approve him or not," DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said after the meeting.

After the contact groups' meeting, Mr. Osman Oktay, a leading figure in the DPS, said that today's decision of the National Coordinating Council and the parliamentary SDS was inconsistent with the advance agreement of the two contact groups for a joint session of the MP's of the two political formation and a joint discussion of the future prime minister. "No one has spoken so far about a transfer of the mandate but of a government on the movement's mandate, with broad public support and with a SDS prime minister," Mr. Oktay specified, reacting to opinions of SDS leaders that joint discussions would be inconsistent with the agreement on a transfer of the DPS mandate to the SDS. At the meeting in parliament, the movement's leaders were told that there would be no joint sessions of the two formation's MP's, Mr. Oktay said.

Several months ago, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms demanded Mr. Sokolov's resignation as minister of the interior.

SDS officials were even less inclined to comment on the talks. "It seems that there will be no more talks with the movement," one of them said. He was not clear what would happen if the DPS does not approve Yordan Sokolov but did not rule out either a review of the SDS nomination or a caretaker cabinet and early elections.

"If the Movement for Rights and Freedoms does not approve Mr. Sokolov's nomination, this will imply that there will be early elections, the responsibility for which will rest with the DPS," National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov said today. He added that the nomination of Mr. Sokolov in his capacity as independent was best suited to the moment.

Mr. Sokolov's only condition for accepting the nomination was that the SDS keep its unity while the prospective cabinet is in office.

Parliament Debates Secret Service Files Issue

AU1812163092 Sofia BTA in English 1451 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—For some two hours today the Bulgarian Parliament debated the issue of people who worked for the disbanded State Security. No decision was made. Further debates are expected next week.

Following a televised interview in which Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev alleged, without naming names, that high-ranking politicians were connected with the former State Security, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov ordered the interior minister to issue special certificates of no association with the former secret police to MP's [members of parliament] , government ministers and chiefs of

national institutions who have been implicated of such connections by the mass media. Time and again, the partisan and the independent press has been running allegations that senior politicians were involved in the former secret services. For more than a month now, the tabloid RANO UTRO has been running lists of MP's and ministers, alleging that they were secret agents.

The prime minister's order implies that the checks will be made on the initiative of the implicated. DUMA, the daily of the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party, reacted strongly to the prime minister's decision, claiming that it was tantamount to an unlawful disclosure of secret police files. In today's DUMA, its editor in chief describes the Interior Ministry certificates as a sort of indulgence and warns of the dangers that the procedure may breed corruption.

One day after the prime minister's order, Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov announced that on payment of 1,000 leva (40 U.S. dollars according to the current exchange rate) any Bulgarian citizen could obtain a certificate of no collaboration with the communist secret services from the Ministry of the Interior.

Eleven applications had been filed by yesterday. The most conspicuous among the applicants is Labour and Social Affairs Minister Vekil Vanov.

On the insistence of Socialist MP's, parliament held a special debate today on the orders of Prime Minister Dimitrov and Interior Minister Sokolov. "We do not believe that the prime minister can take such action, his order is against the law," said Mr. Spas Muletarov MP of the BSP, a former deputy prosecutor general. The Socialists believe the problem may have unforeseeable consequences.

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov made it clear that he will not back out of his order.

Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov said his order did not apply to agents of the former Principal Department One of the disbanded State Security (the external intelligence), whose archives are outside the Interior Ministry system, and of Division Six of the former State Security Department Six (the secret political police), whose archives disappeared in 1990, as disclosed by the press. Mr. Sokolov also said that many of the actual employees are on the RANO UTRO list, but it has left out the actual informers.

Parliament will have two options: to refer the prime minister's order to the Constitutional Court, which may rule it unconstitutional, or to oblige the Interior Ministry to say whether the MP's had worked for the secret services. The draft resolutions will have to be considered by the standing committees first.

Dimitrov Clarifies Decision

AU1812115992 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Statement by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov at the National Assembly in Sofia on government order regarding citizens' access to their personal police files—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen National Assembly deputies. I would like to express my gratitude to the National Assembly for giving me the opportunity from this very rostrum to explain the reasons for the issue of the aforementioned act [order on access to police files]. This opportunity is useful, under the present circumstances, considering that numerous people evidently feel affected by this act, or have certain objections to it.

The questions that were actually raised can be summarized in several groups of questions, such as:

First of all, it was claimed that the administration is not authorized to issue certificates to people about whom specific rumors are spread, enabling them to deny such facts, which they, or at least many of them, consider detrimental to their honor.

As a matter of fact, the Grand National Assembly dealt with this question, while the present National Assembly, despite having tried to do so for a long time, never did deal with this question. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the National Assembly's task is of a different nature. It deals with matters concerning the publication of facts and data concerning specific activities of parliament members. The ordinance in question, however, gives the opportunity to individuals who have decided to take such a step, assuming personal responsibility for their action, to seek only negative information about himself and to obtain a relevant document attesting to his innocence by an authorized organ.

I am convinced of the following, and I would like to stress the word I in this connection, because somewhat later you will find out that this is of essential importance for the legal aspect of the case. Hence, I repeat: I am convinced that the act is totally understandable and that it does not represent any discrimination among different categories of citizens. It is evident that it involves individuals who have been subject to certain articles and comments in the media. Naturally, such individuals are chiefly members of parliament or representatives of the higher echelons in the administration. However, they may also be heads of state institutions. As members of parliament, you certainly know what an institution means. We could discuss the question whether the formula covers only national institutions, or state institutions as a whole, but one way or another, in issuing the ordinance, I was guided by the consideration that the expression state institutions shows a slightly wider scope, so that individuals to whom the aforementioned criteria

apply, and who were denounced in the mass media, may have the opportunity to defend their honor.

Naturally, arguments were expressed in support of the idea that the former secret services may have forged documents, issued unauthentic documents, forged files, or God knows what else. We cannot totally eliminate such doubts, and hence, the idea that everyone should have the opportunity to assume the responsibility of deciding whether he wishes to obtain such a document or not.

All this is a question of personal choice. However, one should have the right and opportunity to make the correct choice. A short while ago I emphasized that this is my personal opinion. I am convinced that some people in this country hold a different view. There is nothing to be surprised about in this. Hence, since there may be some controversial points and a legal discussion may result from the disputes, the second question, namely the question of the order's legality, is emerging.

I am glad that the speaker who preceded me spared me from explaining the reason why the order was issued as an individual administrative act.

Nevertheless, as you all know, and as it is stipulated in the Penal Code of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, every civil servant is obliged to implement the written order of a superior authority, unless it involves an evident crime. I am stressing this fact in order to explain that, since the order I have issued does not involve committing any evident crime, even if the legal justification of the act is disputed, this order is mandatory for all administrative bodies under my supervision.

I am saying this in order to explain that from now on certain procedural rules have been established to which the administration has to submit. The order shall be effective for as long as it is in force and until it is canceled. From what I have heard so far in this hall, however, I have the impression that some deputies think that it could be canceled on the basis of a National Assembly decision.

I have had repeated opportunities of appearing before you in this hall, and of pleading for a principle which is greater than all other considerations. I mean the basic principle of democracy, namely the principle of the division of powers. I insist on telling you: No one should believe that a decision of the legislative power can overrule an individual administrative act. There are two methods by which the order in question could be canceled: First, if a complaint against it is filed in court according to established procedures and the court should cancel it in conformity with the law; second, if I or my successor in the post of prime minister should decide to cancel the order.

I am saying this to avoid long procedural debates on the question whether a decision of parliament could prevail over an individual administrative act adopted by the executive power. I am saying so because a decision, which was not absolutely clear, was just voted upon in this hall. If this should represent a recommendation to the executive power to accelerate some of its activities—a recommendation which we do not need, since we are doing our job—your decision adopted at the beginning of the session concerning the distribution of buildings could be adopted as a declaration. If this should be a decision by which parliament is trying to substitute the functions of the administration by distributing buildings, namely to assume administrative functions, I would like to declare that neither I nor any prime minister succeeding me would accept such a decision. [unrest in the hall]. I am saying this not because I have some opinion on the contents of the aforementioned decision, but because the principle of division of powers should be observed, and I hope that it will be observed in Bulgaria's future development.

[Chairman Yordanov interrupting him] Prime Minister, I am sorry to interrupt you, but I would like to point out that the decision you just mentioned is actually a recommendation in connection with speeding up one of your own resolutions, just as you have addressed parliament on several occasions for recommendations concerning other acts of the executive power. There has been no vote, this is only an item on our agenda. However, the very text of the decision is not effective as yet.

[Dimitrov continues] Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am convinced that this is your position, but I presume that there will be other opinions in this hall, and I want to eliminate them quickly as legal theses.

Well, I shall continue by explaining the reasons for the aforementioned order on citizens' access to police files and the procedure by which it must be implemented or canceled.

In order to save you some of your additional questions and give you the opportunity to ask more questions, I would also like to answer the question of the deputy who just interrupted by shouting: why now?

[Text] Whoever has been carefully observing the actions of the Bulgarian Government and my own activities must have noticed that they have always been subject to a very evident and absolutely democratic logic of which I am convinced.

About six months ago, despite numerous protests from representatives of certain political forces, I declared categorically through the Council of Ministers Press Center that I do not intend in the least to discuss, deny, or comment on facts appearing in certain quarters of the gutter press.

At that time you were protesting against similar actions, but I assure you that a list published in the gutter press cannot be reliable and exhaustive. [Shouting, unrest in the hall]. Yes, I assure you that this is so, Mrs. Marinova. I do not think that you could ever remember a case in which I have commented on that particular gutter press publication which you have just mentioned.

Anyway, when a state institution or its representative declares something which is worth noticing, I react. You will certainly remember that on the particular occasion when the president of the republic repeated some untruth which had appeared in the newspapers in an official news conference for the national mass media, thereby confirming it, I immediately reacted.

It is a different question that the problem was posed to you and that the members of the former Communist Party and the representatives of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] in parliament reached a decision which hardly reflects their respect for the truth, but, anyway, it was my obligation to discuss the question raised by the representative of an official institution in the appropriate place.

It is evident that whenever the representative of an official institution raises a question, I cannot help thinking about it and discussing it. However, I must point out that this was the right opportunity for me to issue the order, rather than from any personal motivation. You are certainly acquainted with the stance which not only myself, but other exponents of the political forces whom I represent have expressed on this question. You know how many times the question of personal files has been raised, and how much opposition it has encountered. Hence, I assure you, the opportunity which I have seized to resolve this problem by an administrative order is an expression of my feeling that I have done my duty. [applause].

SDS Daily Analyzes Party Popularity Ratings

AU1712172992 Sofia BTA in English 1538 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 17 (BTA)—The moods among voters are a priority issue in the survey's conducted by the Bulgarian press after the two major political forces in parliament—the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Socialist, ex-Communist, Party (BSP)—failed to form a cabinet. Today the daily of the SDS, DEMOKRATSIYA, analyses the popularity rating of the major political parties and makes projections of the distribution of the votes in possible elections in Bulgaria, proceeding from data of the National Public Opinion Centre.

Under the Bulgarian Electoral Law, only parties which have polled over 4 percent of the vote can enter parliament. The present political forces are considering a change in this requirement. But MP's [members of parliament] disagree on whether this barrier should be raised or lowered. A survey conducted by the National Public Opinion Centre in October showed that if new elections were held, the political forces to qualify for parliament would be the SDS with 38 percent of the vote, the BSP with 31 percent of the vote, the recently reunited Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) with 9 percent of the vote, the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) with 9 percent of the vote, and the pro-monarchist Kingdom of Bulgaria organization with 4 percent of the vote.

The rating of the SDS may rise in the next few months, according to DEMOKRATSIYA, because of the conviction of the voters that economic stagnation was brought about by the artificially provoked cabinet crisis and the ousting of the cabinet of the coalition. Tactical discord within the coalition is one of the factors which may contain the rise in the popularity rating of the coalition.

The authors of the analysis project a considerable drop in the popularity rating of the BSP as a result of the failure of the Socialists to form a cabinet. The wrong choice they made may lead to the withdrawal of a considerable part of the BSP supporters among the intellectuals. This withdrawal will also be influenced by the confirmed conjectures that the BSP does not wish to govern.

The analysis also includes projections of the popularity rating of the BZNS, which failed to clear the 4 percent barrier at the previous parliamentary elections. According to these projections, the BZNS may increase its influence among those voters who wish to see the problems of agriculture settled.

The inconsistent policy of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms over the past months led to a drastic drop in the support it enjoys among the voters—it plummeted from 9 to 5 percent, according to data of the National Public Opinion Centre. But the latest declarations of the movement in support of the ideas of the SDS and of anticommunism may curb this downward tendency, according to the projections made in the analysis.

EC Association Accords Must Be Renegotiated

AU2012194492 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 12 Dec 92 p 1

[CTK report: "New Association Agreements for the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic?"]

[Text] Edinburgh— The European Community should conduct negotiations on completely new association accords with the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, Egon Klepsch, chairman of the European Parliament, told the CTK correspondent in Edinburgh yesterday. According to Klepsch, new negotiations would be preferable to a mere modification of the association accords or to their automatic transfer to the two successor countries.

Asked when the European Parliament can be expected to ratify the association accords, which lay down quotas for imports from Czechoslovakia, Klepsch gave an evasive reply. The Czech and Slovak Government have already agreed on the division of these quotas; the text of the joint memorandum was presented by [Czech Prime Minister] Vaclav Klaus and [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar to British Prime Minister John Major and EC Commission President Jacques Delors in London in late October.

Egon Klepsch cited as the reason for the need to renegotiate the association accords the very disparate starting positions of the CSFR's two successor states regarding their economic structure and the problem of ethnic minorities. He voiced appreciation for the very calm course of the Czechoslovak "velvet divorce."

EC Agrees To Slowdown of Conversion in Slovakia

AU1812142892 Prague CTK in English 2050 GMT 15 Dec 92

[Text] Brussels, Dec 15 (CTK)— Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak said all representatives of the European Community (EC) Commission and NATO whom he met today agreed that with regard to the current recession in the West, the process of conversion of Slovakia's arms industry could be slowed down and extended to a period of five to six years. Cernak was speaking with CTK after his talks with representatives of the EC Commission and NATO mainly on the current conversion of Slovakia's arms industry into civilian production, on steel exports to the EC, and on Slovakia's association with the EC.

In his meeting with the Slovak minister, EC Commission Vice President Sir Leon Brittan said he admires the transparency and legibility of the process of Czechoslovakia's division and the fact that both republics (Czech and Slovak) cooperate, which is a guarantee of their future cooperation with the EC.

On the controversial exports of Czechoslovak steel to the EC countries, Cernak repeated the stand recently presented in Brussels by his Czech colleague Vladimir Dlouhy: The low prices of Czechoslovak steel are not caused by any subsidies, but by favorable exchange rates and cheap labor. Too strict restrictions in the future might negatively affect the economic balance in Slovakia, Cernak said. According to him, Sir Brittan assured him the EC will search for ways to ease the existing limitations of steel imports. Cernak said EC representatives do not envisage any problems with the Czech and Slovak Republics' association with the EC. However, they declined to speak about any time perspective of this association, Cernak said.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 17 December on page 2 carries the following 100-word unattributed report on Cernak's visit to Brussels: "Representatives of the EC Commission's divisions for industrial policy and steel, coal, and steel products have accommodated the demand of the Slovak Republic and do not consider the prices of steel products exported to EC countries to be dumping prices. This was stated by Slovak Minister of Economy Ludovit Cernak after his return from Brussels yesterday. Cernak said that the Slovak Republic will abide by the quotas for steel exports that the EC will determine."]

Minister Knacko on Closer Ties With EC, NATO

AU2012193992 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Dec 92 p 3

[Report on interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knacko in Brussels by Otmar Lahodinsky; date not given: "Bratislava in Favor of Closer Ties With EC and NATO"]

[Text] Brussels—"We give utmost priority to relations with the EC and the West. There are absolutely no differences on this issue between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The March River will not become the new border between Eastern and Western Europe, as has often been claimed." Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knacko stressed this in an interview with DIE PRESSE during his visit to Brussels. It is true that Slovakia's economy "used to be oriented toward the East," but his country is "certainly no integral part of Eastern Europe." EC membership should be achieved by the year 2000.

Slovakia is "also interested in cooperation with NATO on all levels." NATO membership is "conceivable" for him, "but unfortunately the alliance does not want to accept new members at the moment." Knacko described the creation of a European security structure as urgent. Bratislava wants to intensify relations with Austria—"the only neighboring country that has had democratic structures over a long period."

Knacko confirmed Hungarian objections against the acceptance of Slovakia in the CSCE. He assessed them as the "continuation" of the conflict over the Gabcikovo

power plant. Bratislava recognizes and fulfills all principles required for CSCE membership, including human rights and the rights of minorities urged by Hungary. Knacko pointed out that he invited a group of experts of the European Council to prepare a study on the situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. "If a mayor refuses to use the Slovak language, this will lead to the disintegration of the country," Knacko stated. In Alsace, a mayor cannot refuse to speak French.

Referring to the Gabcikovo power plant, the former actor, who belongs to Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, stressed that it is "absurd to create a bilateral problem out of a power plant." "Slovakia will accept any solution that the technical experts of the EC propose," Knacko emphasized, referring to his country's request for the settlement of the dispute by the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Demolition of the power plant is out of the question and is not being considered by the EC experts, either. The next joint meeting of the trilateral committee of experts will take place in Brussels on 11 January.

Romania Recognizes Independence of Slovak Republic

LD1812212392 Prague CTK in English 2059 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava Dec 18 (CTK)—The Romanian government today recognised the Slovak Republic as a subject of international law as of January 1, 1993, Roman Buzek, director of the Slovak Foreign Ministry press department, told the Slovak news agency TA SR today. The government of Romania has declared that it is ready to establish diplomatic relations with the Slovak and Czech republics on embassy level, Mihai Dinucu, Romanian consul in the Slovak Republic, today announced to the Slovak Foreign Ministry.

Ukraine Recognizes Czech, Slovak Republics

LD1812204192 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Prague/Bratislava Dec 18 (CTK)—The Ukrainian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Roman Lubkivskiy, sent a note today to the Czech Republic's Ministry for International Relations announcing Ukraine's recognition of the Czech Republic and the start of bilateral diplomatic relations between the two states as of January 1. Lubkivskiy sent a similar note to the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bratislava announcing Ukraine's recognition of Slovakia as an independent state and the establishment of diplomatic relations as of January 1.

Meciar Views End of CSFR, Slovak Problems

AU1712153392 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 16 Dec 92 p 9

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Michael Frank in Bratislava; date not given: "'It Had All Been Planned by the Czechs Before'"]

[Text] [Frank] The CSFR used to enjoy great sympathy. It was regarded as the most promising reform country of the former Soviet block ....

[Meciar] ... A typical assessment from the outside. From the inside, things look different. The Czechs and Slovaks have been unable to develop an order on the principle of equals. Even now, the alternative we were offered was a unitarian state. It means denying any national and regional elements. We Slovaks assume that there are differing economic and social structures—we are at a disadvantage in both spheres—and two political structures: The Czechs are leaning toward the right, while the Slovaks more to the center, to the left, or left of center. It was not possible to find a definition of common interests. Vaclav Havel is to blame for it.

[Frank] Is Havel personally responsible for it?

[Meciar] Basically, Vaclav Havel initiated the process of separation. He was the chairman of all commissions that dealt with constitutional matters. The decisions of those commissions in many cases only lasted a few minutes. He made great promises to the Slovaks, of which nothing has been left. The Czech side had a detailed secret program for partition ready as early as December 1990....

[Frank] ... Which has always been denied; it was said that one only reacted to the Slovaks' desire for independence.

[Meciar] In December 1990 I called for national conciliation in the federal parliament. The secret plan was the reaction to my demand and not to a development that started only afterwards.

[Frank] National conciliation?

[Meciar] Real equality rights. Sovereignty in the spheres of culture and the economy, tax autonomy, equal representation toward the outside, etc. The Czech Government's answer was a program that provided for seven stages of separation. Yet, Vaclav Klaus was not involved in it. The content had in many cases nothing to do with the standards of European civilization.

[Frank] Can you give me an example?

[Meciar] There were plans for mass deportations of Roma [gypsies] to Slovakia. Sick Slovaks were to be put in assembly camps in Moravia. Payments to Slovaks were to be stopped and Slovaks were to be banned from employment in the Czech state apparatus. The Army was to be transferred behind the Czech border and placed under exclusive Czech control. All the things the Slovaks were thinking about only in theory, had long been planned by the Czechs before.... We would always start from the assumption of much closer cooperation than we will get now. Yet, even that is better than the old situation. We offered the Czechs confederation, then union, but both proposals were rejected. A series of partial treaties will solve many problems, but there are no longer any common bodies.

[Frank] Is the partition of the CSFR not a game between the power elites? Does it correspond to what the people want?

[Meciar] The parties that declared their support for Slovakia as a body under international law, won 90 of the 150 seats in the Slovak parliamentary elections. The people have made a clear decision. Everything else belongs to the realm of speculation, is nothing but opinion polls that can be manipulated.

[Frank] According to one survey, one-third of Slovaks expects restrictions of the freedom of opinion and other civic rights once the country is independent.

[Meciar] This will not happen. Such reports are spread by media that used to be state-owned, and where there are doubts that everything was legally correct when they were transferred to private owners. When one sets out to check that, they shout: Help, democracy is in danger! Any newspaper may challenge that we have democracy here. That only proves that we do have democracy. We have the opposite extreme: There is no press law, the citizens are not protected against untrue information, no protection of names, no regulations against slander. It is not undemocratic to try to settle these things in the interest of the protection of the citizens.

[Frank] Some Czechs suspect that you are a crypto-Bolshevist.

[Meciar] I am not only suspected of being that. Your newspaper, for example, even suspects that I am responsible for the death of Alexander Dubcek.

[Frank] It cited rumors to show what kind of dirty tricks each side believes the other side is capable of.

[Meciar] Before the election I was the victim of a propaganda campaign: I was personally accused of having been a KGB agent, of wanting to return to the old state socialism, and other nasty things. Between 1962 and 1969 I was a member of the Communist Party. After 1968 I mentally distanced myself from the party. I was persecuted for 20 years. I can only laugh at those who regard me as an old Bolshevik while they remained in the party until 1990. I am enjoying great support from the population. Some people are now trying to undermine this confidence.

[Frank] How would you define yourself politically?

[Meciar] I am a pragmatist. Slovakia's objective is to introduce the social market economy, comparable to the Austrian or German model. It is particularly my social empathy that makes me different to the party of Mr. Klaus, who favors a "clear" market economy model. Europe is thinking in stereotypes. One is either a social or Christian democrat or something like that. However, we are a movement that is crystallizing, developing. Today, our movement is the political center of Slovakia, it is attacked by the Left and Right.

[Frank] Slovaks are considered to be more Catholic than the pope.

[Meciar] The Christian Democrats were not able to win. As far as their ideology is concerned they are fundamentalist. Our advantage was that we were supported by people from all walks of life because we tackle the daily problems in a realistic way. The media worked against us, as did all the other parties, and even Vaclav Havel, personally.

[Frank] Can independent Slovakia afford to pursue a special, social course?

[Meciar] What would be the alternative? We promised the people sweat and tears. Those who perceive all social phenomena as a result of the market and reject all other social aspects pursue an extreme that understands the problems only on the surface, at most. It is antisocial to transfer market mechanism to all other mechanism in society.

[Frank] Is this why the Slovak state should also control reform and the process of privatization?

[Meciar] The economy must develop on the basis of state participation. One must apply the mechanisms that are common practice in the West. The idea that problems will solve themselves only results in a loss of energy, entrepreneurial spirit, and resources. That is why the state must interfere in this process. Privatization was financed through large bank loans; the bank reserves have been exhausted; now we lack the money for reconstruction, renovation, and modernization. We have the choice of either relying only on small enterprises or open our market to foreign capital.

[Frank] For a country that has heavy industry and industrial plants that are far too big, would it not be essential to create a broad basis for medium-sized enterprises?

[Meciar] We lacking two social strata: small and medium-sized enterprises as well as white collar workers, managers, executives, and bankers.

[Frank] Slovakia's economy will continue to rely on arms production. West Europe has reacted very sensibly to such plans because it knows that it made mistakes itself in the past.

[Meciar] The West has exerted great political pressure, and we cut arms production to no more than 9 percent of what we had before. We expected help—but nothing came! We expected to sell steel to the West. This business is limited. We suffered enormous losses, not to speak of the social sphere and unemployment. Many markets have been lost. What sense does such policy make? What Western country is converting its industry in such a way? How should these plants be privatized? Moreover, we need money for conversion. That means that part of our production plants must continue to make the profits necessary for liquidating them. Typically, despite the moral pressure from the West it was Western

firms that moved into all those markets from which we pulled out. So who did we help, peace or our competitors?

[Frank] How dangerous is the conflict with Hungary concerning the Hungarian minority and the Gabcikovo power plant on the Danube? Might it cause problems for the coexistence of the different nationalities in Slovakia?

[Meciar] Not as far as we are concerned—although it might by outside interference. Slovakia concedes its minorities much more than the standard in Europe; still, we were confronted with much more far-reaching demands; for example, the right to absolute self-determination of the minorities. That does not exist anywhere. This right is reserved for nations. Another demand is completely independent self-administration beyond the generally legal bodies. That would mean the end of state sovereignty. It was also proposed to divide up state administration according to ethnic principles. Special administration for Hungarians on the one hand, and for Slovaks on the other? It was also demanded that it be permitted to use all languages in all official relations on the territory of the entire state. That would involve seven languages. I suggested a model that would solve the problem on the basis of European integration to Hungarian Prime Minister Antall. One should not continuously add fuel to this problem. A dangerous tendency has become visible in Hungary: The call for a revision of the borders with all neighbors. It would be bad if forces that make such demands were to come to power in Hungary.

[Frank] Are you afraid of a Greater Hungary?

[Meciar] It is particularly those who demand a revision of borders, of the Trianon Treaty and the Versailles Treaty take an anti-Semitic and undemocratic position. Even Hungary's current representatives frankly admit that they can imagine a revision of national borders; all they rule out is the use of force. Mr. Antall himself proclaimed himself to be the government head for all Hungarians, that means also of our citizens. The Hungarian defense minister would like to defend them. However, he does not say against whom. The Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries are not the objective of this policy but the means.

[Frank] The Hungarian minority in Slovakia was strongly in favor of the continued existence of the CSFR.

[Meciar] That is a socio-psychological question: People have tried to make them believe that they are in danger and that they cannot live with the Slovaks alone.

[Frank] The minority did not want to return to its Hungarian motherland.

[Meciar] For them it is better to be the rich south of Slovakia than the poor north of Hungary. They themselves say that regarding contacts with Hungary, national kinship is less important than social interests. That means that they are not interested in exchanging territory or nationality. One can talk about everything. There can be no doubt that Hungarians in Slovakia are better of than vice versa. In our mixed areas we invest more into each citizen of Hungarian nationality than in Slovaks; that is our positive position. The Hungarians are quite rich, they are also hard-working. I think that they like it here. All that it needs is security—on both sides.

[Frank] And Gabcikovo?

[Meciar] Gabcikovo is used by Hungary as a means of exerting pressure in this game.

[Frank] A last word regarding Alexander Dubcek: He was a passionate supporter of the federal idea, an opponent to your concept of state.

[Meciar] Despite the huge political gap between us, he was our candidate for the office of first president of free and independent Slovakia. Unfortunately, he is now dead.

Results of Vote on Czech Constitution Detailed

AU1812143892 Prague CTK in English 2051 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)— The Czech National Council (parliament) tonight approved the draft Constitution for the Czech Republic. Of the 198 deputies present, 172 voted in favor, 16 against and 10 abstained. A three-fifths majority (120 votes) was required for the passage of the Constitution in the 200-member legislative body.

In a roll call vote, the government draft Constitution was supported by deputies for the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD), independent deputies and most deputies representing the Left Bloc (LB) and the Liberal Social Union (LSU).

Against the draft Constitution were deputies for the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) and most deputies representing the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS).

The Constitution of the Czech Republic, which comes into force on January 1, 1993, comprises a preamble and eight chapters. The chapter dealing with legislative power says that the Czech parliament will consists of a Chamber of Deputies, corresponding to the present Czech National Council, and a Senate consisting of 81 Senators over 40. Deputies will be elected for a four-year term, Senators for a six-year term while one-third of the Senators will be elected once every two years.

According to the Constitution, the president will be elected for a five-year term, while no one can be elected for more than two successive terms. The president will

be elected by both chambers separately and a simple majority of votes of all their members is required for his election.

According to the chapter on territorial self-administration, the Czech Republic will be divided into municipalities and higher autonomous units, called regions or lands. The names of these higher units will be decided by the local authority.

The temporary and final provisions of the Constitution say that until the Senate is elected in accordance with the Constitution, its powers will be exercised by a provisional Senate, established under a constitutional act. If the act on a provisional Senate takes effect later than January 1, 1993, the Senate's powers will be exercised by the Chamber of Deputies until a provisional Senate is established or the proper Senate elected.

National Council Approves Postindependence Budget

LD1912170092 Prague CTK in English 1503 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 19 (CTK)—The Czech National Council (parliament) today approved with amendments a bill on the Czech republic's budget for 1993. In the 200-seat parliament, 110 deputies voted for the bill, 38 were against it and 26 abstained. Voting against the bill were the deputies for the left bloc, the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), the self-governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) and some deputies for the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and the Liberal Social Union (LSU).

The first ever budget of an independent Czech Republic has been drafted as a balanced one, with revenue and expenditure totalling 342,200 million crowns each (12,000 million USD).

The inflation rate is expected to range between 15 and 17 per cent, and the rate of unemployment between four and five per cent.

The chief resources of revenue are to be the newly introduced value-added tax—88,400 million crowns (3,100 million USD); income tax—87,200 million crowns; and a consumer tax—38,000 million crowns (1,350 million USD). Over 97,000 million crowns (3,450 million USD) are expected to be collected from social insurance payments.

As regards expenditure, the biggest sums will be earmarked for non-investment spendings of budgetary organisations—up to 255,000 million crowns (9,200 million USD). Of this total 118,000 million crowns (4,200 million USD) will go to social insurance including the state policy of employment.

Amendments to the government draft budget were submitted by 40 deputies. Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said some of the amendments stemmed from efforts to make the state take care of everything. The government rejects such an approach, Kocarnik said.

The Czech Parliament also approved today new salaries and allowances for constitutional officials and some officials of the state administration central bodies. A monthly salary of a deputy to the Czech Parliament has been raised from 7,000 to 13,000 crowns (450 USD) plus a 7,000-crown (formerly 4,000) allowance to cover expenses linked to performing the duties of a deputy. The average monthly salary in Czechoslovakia is under 4,000 crowns (145 USD). With a monthly bonus of 18,000 crowns, the monthly salary of the parliament's chairman will be 31,000 crowns, the same as that of the premier who will also get an additional 10,000-crown allowance per month to cover the expenses linked to performing his duties.

The monthly salary of the president of the Czech Republic will be 85,000 crowns (3,000 USD), which is 5,000 crowns more than the salary of the Czechoslovak president used to be. An allowance of 90,000 crowns per month will be granted to the president to cover the expenses incurred in carrying out official duties (the same as that of the Czechoslovak president).

The Czech Parliament today ended its 14th session. The 15th session is to open tonight to discuss a draft constitutional law on setting up a provisional senate of the Czech Republic.

Czech Effort To Form Senate Ends in Stalemate

LD2112100392 Prague CTK in English 0857 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—The presidium of the Czech National Council (parliament) last night agreed to drop debate on a constitutional bill, drafted by the deputies and presented by Parliament Vice Chair Jiri Vlach, on establishing a provisional Senate, the upper chamber of the parliament. Work on the bill started last night after the parliament on Saturday night rejected a government bill providing for the transfer of 174 federal parliament deputies, elected in the Czech Republic, to the Senate. The parliament presidium also last night turned down a proposal to cut the 60-day term required for debating the bill to one day, thus bringing the issue of the future of the federal parliamentarians into a stalemate.

Czech Minister for International Relations Josef Zieleniec has said that failure to fill a provisional Senate, provided for in the new Czech Constitution, might cause serious problems. Zieleniec (Civic Democratic Party) [ODS] said on television Sunday [20 December] that an unfilled Senate is a source of political instability and may result in a call for new elections. In view of current voters' preferences, the ODS does not fear defeat, but what it fears are three months of no work in this state and disorder in public life, said Zieleniec

Agreement on Oil Pipeline Division Reached

AU2012194292 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Dec 92 p 2

[CTK report: "Transpetrol Is Being Divided Into Two Companies"]

[Text] Prague—The Transpetrol shareholding company is being divided into two separate shareholding companies—the Czech Petrotrans and the Slovak Transpetrol, Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy said yesterday. The principle agreed upon is that the company will be divided according to the territorial principle at the ratio of the two sides' deposits at the time of Transpetrol's founding, which "means 22.81 percent for the Czech Republic and 77.19 percent for the Slovak Republic," the minister said. This decision was made by the general assembly of Transpetrol's shareholders, which are the Czech Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Slovak Ministry of Economy. The concluded agreement will go into effect on 31 December 1992; until then Transpetrol will settle all liabilities recorded in the company's books. Both newly established companies will own a part of the "Friendship" oil pipeline, including its auxiliary equipment, and operate it on the territory of the respective republic.

Tentative Agreement on Division of Embassies Reached

AU2012194692 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 12 Dec 92 p 2

[TA SR report: "Slovak Embassy in Hrzan Palace?"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovakia does not yet avail itself of buildings for its representative offices in Washington and Tel Aviv, the TA SR correspondent learned at a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava. According to a source close to the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a possible future seat of the Slovak Embassy in the United States is the former Embassy of the Republic of South Africa.

As transpires from a preliminary agreement between representatives of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Czech Ministry of International Relations on the division of CSFR property abroad, property in the countries of first priority (the G7 countries plus neighboring states) should be divided at the proposed two to one ratio. In the states of second priority, not only property but the representative offices themselves will be divided at the two to one ratio. Slovakia should obtain 13 embassies in countries belonging to this category, Dusan Tomka, director of the Economic Section at the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told the TA SR correspondent. He noted, furthermore, that the CSFR's embassies in Rome and Budapest would not be divided and would fall to the Slovak Republic. Dusan Tomka emphasized that this is only a tentative agreement subject to approval by the Coordinating Commission of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to ratification by the chiefs of diplomatic service of the CSFR and both successor states.

According to the director of the Economic Section at the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Czech Republic has offered Slovakia the Hrzan Palace [currently seat of the Federal Government] as the seat of the Slovak Embassy in Prague. A possible second alternative site of the Slovak mission in the Czech Republic is the current residence of the Czech Government.

Trade Unions To Operate After Partition

AU1812143492 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)— The president of the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Confederation (CSKOS), Richard Falbr, told journalists today that the West should help the East handle the problem of refugees as an influx of refugees from eastern countries might result in manifestations of intolerance toward foreigners. In this connection Falbr did not rule out the extreme possibility of the Slovak citizens working in the Czech Republic becoming the target of the expressions of dislike after the forthcoming division of Czechoslovakia into independent Czech and Slovak Republics in January.

Falbr said that the CSKOS will not end its activities after Czechoslovakia's division because its member trade unions are against it. He said that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions of which the CSKOS is a member, is also in favor of its preservation. After the split of Czechoslovakia the CSKOS will seek preserving contacts between trade unionists of the two (Czech and Slovak) Republics and will provide information to the republics' trade union centers, Falbr said.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 17 December on page 2 carries a 250-word "hor"-signed report on Falbr's news conference. The report includes the following passage: "According to Richard Falbr, the CSKOS will continue to operate with a staff reduced to 25 persons and will engage, in particular, in analytical and expert activity. Likewise, it continues to be a member of international organizations. No opinions have surfaced thus far that would cast doubt on this role of the CSKOS."]

Minister Views Course of Privatization in Slovakia

AU1812143092 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)— Out of 180 privatization projects, which remained after the first wave of privatization in Slovakia, only 26 have so far been given approval, Slovak Privatization Minister Lubomir Dolgos told a press conference in Bratislava today. A total of 13 privatization projects have been given the go-ahead by the Slovak Government, seven have been slated for privatization by public competition through the Fund for National Property, and the rest will be handed over free to communities.

The Slovak side cannot accept the Czech Republic's demand to equalize results from the first wave of privatization, warned Dolgos. He recalled that in talks with his Czech counterpart Jiri Skalicky the two had not agreed on the issue. A decision, according to Dolgos, will have to be taken by the Czech and Slovak Governments. In the continuing course of privatization, the amount of purchasing bids will not be the main criterion, he added, stressing the important role of the new owner's proposed future investment in the specific enterprise, the retention of employees, and the seeking of foreign investment.

Law on Establishing Slovak Army Passed

AU1812145892 Prague CTK in English 1613 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)— The Slovak parliament passed a bill on establishing the Slovak Republic's Army, which will be committed to the defense of Slovakia's freedom, independence and sovereignty and to helping eliminate effects of natural disasters.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, who presented the bill to the parliament, said the law is only a temporary one, as a new defense concept will be worked out next year after Slovakia becomes independent.

No candidate for the post of Slovak defense minister has been named yet. Meciar said that it will be an army officer, while a civilian will take the post of the minister's state secretary.

According to Ladislav Polka, chairman of the Slovak parliament's Committee for Petitions, Legal Protection and Security, the Slovak Army will comprise some 35,000 soldiers. It will be constituted as a defense army.

By passing a government bill on the organization of Slovak ministries and other central bodies of state administration, the Slovak parliament today established also the Slovak Defense Ministry.

The deputies approved the Slovak Republic's succession to international finance organizations, such as international monetary fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD). The Slovak Government will take over the Czechoslovak Federation's commitments and claims also in the European Investment Bank and Bank for International Settlements (BIS).

Minister Comments on Slovak Arms Purchase Plans

LD2012114892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 0700 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Slovak Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Knazko sees no reason why Slovakia should start to arm itself. He was responding to a question from a journalist from the Hungarian broadcast of Radio Free Europe at a press conference in Bratislava. She said that Hungary had allegedly bought weapons from Russia valued at US $800 million. According to Knazko, the items Hungary purchased were only spare parts with which Moscow was paying back its debts to Budapest. Knazko said that Slovakia would not buy any arms, in the direct context of the armament of Hungary. He also excluded the possibility of Slovakia selling arms to Croatia. Knazko also confirmed that Prime Minister Meciar met new Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin in the Tatra Mountains.

Most Slovaks See No Worsening of Slovak-Hungarian Ties

AU1812143292 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)— The position of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia will not change after the republic gains independence on January 1, according to 56 percent of those responding to a poll conducted in Slovakia during November.

The Slovak Statistical Office surveyed 1,166 Slovaks, of whom 10 percent saw an improvement in Hungarians' standing, 18 percent saw a worsening in Hungarians' position, and 16 percent said they were unqualified to judge.

Opinions differed sharply according to respondents' ethnic affiliation. Among the 114 Slovaks of Hungarian origin who participated in the survey, 45 percent thought the position of Hungarians would worsen, 35 percent thought it would stay the same, and only 5 percent saw future improvements. Some 32 percent of those questioned saw the current development of relations between Hungary and Slovakia as very worrisome, 40 percent saw it as somewhat worrisome, 13 percent did not consider it worrisome, 10 percent were indifferent, and 5 percent said they were not qualified to judge.

National Party Official To Stand for Slovak Presidency

LD1812152292 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1330 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Jozef Prokes, deputy speaker of the Slovak parliament and deputy chairman of the Slovak National Party, said at a news conference in Kosice today that he would stand for the Slovak presidency. He said about the resolution of the Czech parliament, which adopted the Czechoslovak flag for the future independent Czech Republic that this was the first step toward casting doubt on all treaties and laws agreed between the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic.

Integration Party Divides into Two

LD2012175092 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] In connection with the end of the federation, the Czechoslovak Party of Integration is being divided into the Party of Integration in the Czech Republic and the Party of Integration in the Slovak Republic. According to Miroslav Vacek, chairman of the party, which has around 2,000 members and supporters, and which was founded in March 1990, its aim is the development of welfare policies and social security for handicapped citizens.

French Defense Minister Leaves After Meetings

LD1812134392 Budapest MTI in English 1308 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe on Friday [18 December] morning left Budapest after a one-day official visit to Hungary at the invitation of counterpart Lajos Fur, the Defence Ministry's press department told MTI. While in Hungary, Joxe met Fur, Minister Without Portfolio Tibor Fuzessy, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant-General Janos Deak.

Defense Minister on Army Readiness

LD2012151492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur by editor in chief Zsolt Szalay in Budapest on 20 December on the "World Clock" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Szalay] The question of the Army's practical inability to perform has regularly been on the agenda. What is the Hungarian Army—which is smaller than those in neighboring countries and the condition of which is not satisfactory—capable of? [passage omitted]

[Fur] It is capable of that which it is enabled to do by its material conditions, by which I do not just mean wages and provisions. I also mean military technology—that is, the system of weapons and other technical systems with which it can now operate. I do not consider the situation to be that appalling, even if we always say it is not at all...

[Szalay, interrupting] Is there also not a little tactical consideration in this?

[Fur] No. One tries to formulate things that correspond to reality. So, if I were to say the Army is in a state in which it is capable of nothing, I would not be telling the truth. There are formations existing in the Army. There is continual training. There were military exercises this year, and there will also be exercises next year. (?They have) adequate weapons, a good part of which are functioning, although a great part of them are in a very worn out state and need replacing urgently, or at least within a foreseeable time.

All this is true. The Army is still capable, however, through its aforementioned functions, of dealing with some kind of smaller aggression if such were to take place against the country. Thank goodness we do not have to reckon with a large-scale aggression—a frontal attack, I call it, from any direction. At most, there could be smaller local conflicts arising from the phenomena in our neighborhood, which are well known. Even these feature only possibilities.

[Szalay] Let me then name one of the possibilities. More than one Romanian political leader has mentioned that some kind of system with revisionist ideas can be observed in part of Hungary. [passage omitted]

[Fur] I have a dual life. I engage in political activity and party political activity. At the same time, I am entrusted with leadership of a professional ministry. If I am speaking as the former, then I would say that there are indeed certain political forces in Romania who, turning to propaganda tools that do not correspond to reality at all, are trying to create a certain kind of atmosphere against Hungary. Although I do not say that these are determining political forces, they are present.

If it is my latter persona speaking—who is entrusted with the leadership of a professional ministry—I say, because this is what I know, that the Romanian military leadership, or at least the upper military leadership, and personally the present minister Lieutenant General Spiroiu, has nothing to do with these rumors. On the contrary, he said very decisively in recent days that no Hungarian danger was threatening Romania—as is asserted there—because he knows, as I do, that no such ideas and propaganda campaign were or are underway within the Army.

I say that these are just the games, the inventions, of certain political forces—as is the little entente itself, which is a separate and large question, about which I would happily talk if we had time. These are inventions and have no reality. At least in military terms they have no reality, either from this side or from the other.

[Szalay] Yugoslavia and all that which is happening beyond our southern border is a reality. [passage omitted] Do you think that we would be capable of resisting alone if the danger of the conflict spilling over were to exist or would we need greater NATO support or help?

[Fur] We ourselves can more than deal with very small overspills. We are prepared for this, and we are preparing formations. We have so called air-mobility units and subunits, and these are capable of quickly beating back or suppressing these smaller local (?incidents.) Unfortunately, military experts tell me that securing our air space is extremely difficult, not only for a country with a relatively weak air force, but also for those with a strong air force. One can slip through air space in seconds these days with these supersonic planes. [passage omitted]

[Szalay] Let us deal with another subject, namely financial matters. Criticisms have been leveled against the ministry by the opposition, saying that in connection with the Russian-Hungarian compensation issue, which envisages the Defense Ministry receiving weapons and other shipments to the value of around 800 million dollars, in lieu of Russian debts, in essence and converted to forints, the Ministry is receiving an extra budget of 65 billion. How realistic and justified is this? Are you really doing so well? [passage omitted] Is this a realistic possibility?

[Fur] If it happens. This is realistic if we manage to make the deal and manage to conclude these talks precisely. These talks unfortunately are still under way. We have only just started them. The same goes for the acquisition of German spare parts.

[Szalay] There has been a debate here about whether we are getting them free, or whether we will have to pay for them. [passage omitted]

[Fur] [passage omitted] It is not yet concluded, so I cannot say anything yet. It is possible we may only have to give a nominal sum for them, but it is also possible we may have to pay a certain proportion.

[Szalay] There is no question of this being a gift.

[Fur] For the moment there is no question of this.

[Szalay] The most interesting or exciting undertaking of our days is the UN refugee action in Somalia with U.S. help, or rather leadership. At first it seemed the Hungarian Army would join in this action with great enthusiasm. Then we became rather more uncertain. [passage omitted]

[Fur] The great enthusiasm was really for the matter itself. Hungary demonstrated its willingness. Naturally, at the beginning there could not be much question as to what extent, when, and with what kind of contingent, in what numbers, in what measure it would participate in this action because we did not know the conditions of willingness to receive it, whether they wanted it, what they wanted, and amid what conditions. [passage omitted]

Inflation Running Slightly Lower at 22.7 Percent

AU1812143492 Budapest MTI in English 0820 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 16 Dec (MTI)—Consumer prices grew by 1.6 percent in November following rises of 2.5 percent in October and 2.4 percent in September, a Central Statistical Office (CSO) report published on Tuesday [15 December] shows.

Consumer prices grew by a monthly 0.3-0.8 percent during the summer.

Twelve-month consumer price inflation slowed down to 22.7 percent from 23.4 percent in October. The twelve-month price rise was 21.7 percent in September and 20.7 percent in August.

CSO Figures for November Consumer Price Increases in Hungary

		Dec. 1991	Change (pc)
Item	100	in 1 month	in 12 months
foodstuffs	125.6	2.7	27.0
alcoholic beverages, tobacco	122.8	0.5	23.8
clothing	115.9	1.9	19.2
consumer durables	110.7	1.6	13.3
household energy	116.8	1.7	21.6
other industrial articles, fuels	121.3	1.3	24.1
services	118.1	0.6	22.2
Total	120.3	1.6	22.7

In November last year, consumer prices increased by 1.4 per cent on the previous month and were 32.8 percent up on November, 1990.

Twelve-month inflation in Hungary peaked in June 1991 at 38.6 per cent and then fell continuously to 20.1 per cent in July this year.

In November this year, food prices grew overall by 2.7 percent with price rises mainly afffecting meat products and fat (rises between 5-33 per cent). The price of meat, milk, dairy products and sugar rose by about 3 percent, margarine by 4 percent, and rice by 2 percent.

At 27 percent, food prices saw the biggest increase in the 12 months up to the end of November. Within that figure, the price of pork grew by an average 49 per cent, bakery products by 35 percent, canned fish by 45 percent, milk by 27 percent, butter 29 percent and pork and poultry fat by 79 percent, the CSO reports.

Among the food items with lower than average price increases in the twelve-month period were: poultry (up 17 percent), cheese (17 percent), sugar (21 percent), rice (10 percent), potatoes (5 per cent), while coffee prices were virtually unchanged.

In the twelve months to November 1992, the price of domestic energy rose by 21.6 percent, clothing by 19.2 percent, services by 21.2 percent, spirits and tobacco by 23.8 percent, while other products and fuels became 24.1 percent more expensive.

The only sector in which price rises were significantly lower than average was consumer durables, the price of which rose 13.3 per cent in the 12 months up to the end of November.

Government To Recognize Czech, Slovak Republics

AU2112112192 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Zakopane, Dec. 20—The Polish Government will recognize the statehood of Slovakia and the Czech Republic and will establish diplomatic relations with them as soon as the Czecho-Slovak federation ceases to exist, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said on Sunday [20 December] after the meeting with her Slovak counterpart, Vladimir Meciar, in Zgorzelisko, near Zakopane.

The talks also included the creation of a regional free trade zone and a "Tatra" Euroregion. The free zone agreement between the Visegrad group countries is expected to be signed in Krakow on Monday, December 21. Hanna Suchocka said that the Polish side is ready to sign it and, she added, "so is Hungary, as far as I am informed."

Poland and Slovakia will undertake joint efforts to obtain from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development funds to upgrade the system of roads linking Poland and Slovakia. Both leaders also discussed Poland's and Slovakia's progress on the road to EC membership and the future shape of relations with Eastern European countries.

At a press conference, Suchocka and Meciar stressed their interest in developing very good relations between Poland and Slovakia, developing cooperation between bordering regions, and intensification of economic contacts.

Poland offered Slovakia its help in training diplomatic staff and state administration personnel.

The meeting was part of wider political consultations between both countries, this time held at the top level. Meciar also briefed Suchocka on the main lines of Slovakia's foreign policy, especially its central European aspects.

Latvian President Visits; Accords Ratified

AU1812141492 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—Ratification documents of the Polish-Latvian treaty of friendship and cooperation were exchanged on Thursday [17 December] during the first day of the visit paid to Poland by Latvia's president Anatolijs Gorbunovs at the invitation of President Lech Walesa.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and his Latvian opposite number Georg Andrejvs also signed a Polish-Latvian consular convention and an agreement on visa-free traffic between the two countries.

The Polish-Latvian treaty will be the first one to become effective out of the new treaties concluded by Poland with her neighbors in the east and north.

"Our reforming countries need more cooperation," Walesa said and stressed that both Poland and Latvia have considerable, unused potential. The two presidents had a face-to-face talk in the Belweder [presidential residence] and next attended plenary talks between the two delegations.

According to the spokesman for the Polish president, Andrzej Drzycimski, the sides exchanged information. Asked whether Walesa proposed to broaden the Visegrad group (consisting of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) by admitting the Baltic republic, Drzycimski replied: "No, this was not put that way."

Gorbunovs also met with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to discuss state financial policy and problems of fighting inflation. Suchocka said after the meeting that the Latvian Government, just like its Polish counterpart, must face its society's unwillingness to accept its rigid financial policies.

Gorbunovs and Andrejvs also had talks with Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Commenting on the discussions, Skubiszewski stressed the necessity to pay more attention to the economic aspects of Polish-Latvian relations.

During the talks, the sides also discussed relations between Poland, Latvia and their common neighbors, above all Russia.

Gorbunovs called on the Polish parliament and talked with the speakers of the Sejm (lower house) and Senate and leaders of the foreign affairs committees. During his talk with Sejm speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski, Gorbunovs stressed that his country is interested in using Polish experience in the construction of the democratic system and market economy. Both sides also pointed to the need to develop economic and political cooperation between Poland and Latvia. Chrzanowski noted that Polish Latvians enjoy full rights as citizens of Latvia, while Gorbunovs stressed that Latvians of Polish descent were loyal to Latvia and contributed to its regaining independence, a communique from the Sejm office said.

In the evening, President Walesa entertained Gorbunovs to dinner. In his toast, President Walesa spoke of the "community of interests" of Poland and Latvia. "Poland desires partnerlike cooperation with Latvia and all the Baltic states. Your visit and our talks constitute another, meaningful step towards this end," Walesa said, and added that the Baltic Sea that links Poland and Latvia indicates the direction of action and the most advantageous forms of cooperation.

Gorbunovs expressed hope that "today's meeting and further work will help develop concrete forms of cooperation" between the two countries. "Latvia considers Poland to be an important trade partner," the Latvian

president said. "I am sure that cooperation between our nations will contribute to the development of Europe and the Baltic region, and will gear it towards peace, democratization and economic boom," Gorbunovs predicted.

Wish To Eliminate Imperialism

LD1812191892 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18—Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs, on a official visit to Poland, on Friday [18 December] declared that Poland and Latvia will strive to eliminate imperialist elements from Russian policy.

"Latvia is concerned about the latest statements by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev suggesting that force may be used to restore status quo in former satellite countries. Such threats cannot be accepted by Latvia," Gorbunovs told a news conference on Friday. He added that "it seems that these threats are not likely to disappear soon," he added.

The Latvian president said his meeting with the Polish president was very important and necessary for the development of Polish-Latvian economic and political cooperation that will help to overcome deep crisis in the East and to solve problems related to integration with the West.

Much space of the conference was devoted to both countries economic relations. Underlining that Poland is the second largest Latvian trade partner after Germany, Gorbunovs suggested a joint Polish-Latvian bank should be set up as soon as possible because trade between both countries will be hampered without specifying clearance principles. He also saw the need to conclude agreements on mutual protection of investments and avoidance of double taxation.

The two latter topics were also discussed during a meeting the Latvian president held with Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Arendarski and a group of Polish businessmen earlier in the day. It was then announced that trade missions of both countries are to be opened in Warsaw and Riga soon and a Polish-Latvian Chamber of Commerce should be established in the future. The Latvian guest ended his visit to Poland on Friday afternoon with a luncheon given in honour of President Lech Walesa.

Silesian Railway Workers Join Miners in Strike

LD1812091792 Warsaw PAP in English 0029 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—Over sixty coal mines, employing some 350,000 miners, were on strike Thursday [17 December], sources at the state coal agency said Thursday evening.

Waclaw Marszewski, chairman of the regional strike committee at the Solidarity National Mining Commission, said on Thursday that the commission is ready to start talks with the government immediately.

Marszewski reiterated today that the miners' strike could last for one or two months and is aimed to result in coal shortages in Poland, adding that the strike is not politically motivated. Warning about the possibility of an outbreak of a similar wave of strikes in brown coal mines, Marszewski expressed his doubt whether "the government would have enough time to work out a constructive policy towards the mining industry."

Meanwhile, the Solidarity-80 and "Kontra" Trade Unions operating in coal mines formed an inter-union strike committee of mining industry and called on other union organizations to join forces in the coordination of the strike action and the working out of a joint stand towards the government.

The spreading strike wave in southern Poland was joined Thursday afternoon by some 1,000 railway workers who started to block freight traffic in the Silesian region.

Grzegorz Kolasa, chairman of the Inter-Industry Strike Committee, told PAP that the Solidarity regional chapter of metallurgy in Katowice decided on Thursday "on its readiness to join the committee and the general strike." Kolasa declined to give any details.

In Krakow, Chairman of Solidarity Workers' Commission of Metallurgists at the Sendzimir Steelworks Wladyslaw Kielian announced that all union organizations at the steelworks plan to form an inter-union strike committee which is to prepare a seperate list of demands. Kielian expressed an opinion that that there is no other way out of the situation in Poland than a general strike, "it would force the government to change its policy towards enterprises."

Managing Director of the State Coal Agency Przemyslaw Gruca said on Thursday that today's coal output was over 50 per cent lower than planned. Gruca told reporters that the total debt of the Polish mining industry has reached 19 trillion zlotys (some 1.3 billion dollars). The agency director also stressed that the current situation in the mining industry may cause that Poland will lose a number of attractive world markets, adding that this year's export of coal will probably reach 19 million tonnes against the planned 22 million tonnes.

Meanwhile, members of the farmers' "Samoobrona" Trade Union on Thursday started various actions to protest against accessive, in their opinion, imports of foodstufs to Poland.

In Lodz, farmers marched through the city calling for the protection of home production, while a group of farmers' activists from the Szczecin region staged a six-hour picket at border crossings in Kolbaskowo and Swiecko.

Government Will Not Give In

AU1812144792 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—Deputy Premier Henryk Goryszewski said Thursday [17 December] that the miners strike in Silesia would not force the government "to print more money or increase the rate of inflation because of rises in the price of coal." Speaking at a press conference, Goryszewski stressed that it was bad that the strike had been called while talks were going on concerning restructuring the mining industry. "If it is an economic strike then it has not been thought out," said Goryszewski. "In my view there is only one demand. It concerns the prevention of a fall in real wages in the light of proposed price increases and inflation forecasts," said Goryszewski, commenting on the 23 demands of the strikers announced on Monday.

Goryszewski maintained that the privatisation ministry itself agreed with the miners' demand that coal mining not come under that ministry's jurisdiction. He stressed that it was not on the governments agenda to ensure that funds for Polish mining be obtained from institutions such as the World Bank (also one of the strike demands). " This strike is merely ruining our image with Western business, which will stop investing in Poland," warned Goryszewski, adding that the government did not intend to limit coal exports despite the approaching winter. Goryszewski maintained that the government now had some funds to buy up coal which it did not have in August.

On the demand for no victimization against the strikers, Goryszewski asked: "Has anybody faced repression as a result of strikes during the last 3 years?"

Deputy Minister for Trade and Industry Andrzej Lipko said that the electricity power stations had coal stocks for 20-40 days after which there might be problems with the electricity supply.

Labor Minister Sets Conditions

LD1812105192 Warsaw PAP in English 1032 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18—The government will start talks with coal miners who are now on strike only when topics for such talks are specified, Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron declared at the Sejm (lower house) sitting on Friday [18 December].

Now, all but 6 of Poland's 70 coal mines in the southern region of Silesia are on strike, the minister added. According to him miners who were Poland's top earners under communism now face dramatic decrease of their income-adjusted wages.

The minister also reported on the rail workers strike which is spreading in southern Poland and halted two freight trains from Czecho-Slovakia heading for ports on the Baltic sea. Rail stoppage can't affect Poland's relations with her neighbours, he added.

The government is due to meet representatives of the Walbrzych province on December 21 to discuss problems of restructuring of the regions which face high rates of unemployment and the closure of most of its pits.

Walesa Sends Letter to Miners

LD1912131492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Today, President Lech Walesa sent a letter to the striking miners at the Wujek hard coal mine in Katowice in response to a letter from the workforce. The president writes, among other things: The Polish mining industry is experiencing a drama. The lack of concrete solutions to the difficult problems of Silesia has brought a wave of strikes continuing to this day. The rich Western countries have been grappling with similar problems, President Walesa stresses in his letter. They needed several years to create plans of action and a dozen or so to implement them. However, I understand your bitterness and determination, the president stressed. You have implemented the last resort—a strike. But can strikes solve your problems? By striking, you can force decisions on the government and maybe even overthrow it, but what will you gain by that? Does Poland stand to gain? We will all lose; you too. We will not build anything on chaos and destabilization, and the prospect for solving the problems of the mining industry will recede further.

President Walesa gave the assurance that he would continue to keep an eye on the affairs of the mining industry and fight for rapid and effective decisions. You must be sure that I will do everything to fulfill these obligations; but you must help me by acting with restraint and deliberation [swoja rozwaga], the president stressed in his letter to the Wujek pit miners.

Suchocka's Statement on Situation

LD1912213992 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Statement by Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen: A moment ago I ended a meeting with Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski and a delegation of trade unionists. We discussed those issues which are the most difficult for Poland: we talked about strikes in Silesia. I presented my own view of the state of the country, how I see problems and dangers. The situation is such that as a country we have really reached a very crucial stage.

During the last six months the situation in the economy has been improving: this is clear from all available data, although we have not yet been able to feel it. Three years of sacrifice on the part of society as a whole are slowly beginning to bear fruit. Poland is the first country in our region where the reforms that have been undertaken are

bringing results. We must not waste them now. The developments in Silesia are a reminder of this. Since the beginning we have been very well aware of how difficult the situation in the mining industry is and how many problems have accumulated in Silesia.

Since July we have been racing against time. Only five days after the appointment of the government we undertook joint work with the Silesian trade unionists. We met regularly. Three weeks ago we established a deadline for our work. Two weeks ago the Council of Ministers adopted a program for the steelworking industry. The trade unionists accepted it. These programs, obviously, do not promise improvement as of tomorrow. They do not promise illusions either. It is important, however, that in the mining industry they do not envisage collective redundancies, they protect pay, and provide opportunities for pay increases. They offer to cure causes and not the effects of an illness—an illness that has dogged the Polish economy for 40 years. I know well that these effects are exceptionally hard to bear, especially in Silesia.

The Strike Committee's 23 demands are, as it were, a list of those effects. One could double the number of those problems of similar importance and significance on this list. We are talking and we will be talking to the trade unionists: we will be talking about the Silesian problems, but long-term negotiations, item by item, of particular demands will not solve the problems of the mining industry. Many demands are already being met; others are part of agreements already made.

There are some demands, however, that simply cannot be met. I understand the miners' anxiety about the future; I understand their feeling of being wronged; I also see that during strikes workplaces are being protected. However, I must say resolutely that if the railway strike is extended then its effects will be painful for the people, especially the residents of Silesia.

It is the government's duty to counteract this; the government cannot remain indifferent where the safety of the people, the state, and the economy is concerned. The painful Silesian problems cannot be settled right away. In other, richer countries than ours, work on improving the mining industry took a long time. The preparation of the improvement program alone took years. We have to do this, and we will do it much more quickly. We will discuss all the Silesian issues, but we will only be able to do what is possible.

The government I lead will not make decisions undermining the purpose of three years of reforms and social effort. I deeply appreciate the values so strongly connected with Silesia: hard work, endurance, family and regional traditions—these have allowed Silesia to survive many difficult periods in history. I believe in those traditions.

Strikes Gain Momentum

LD2012220492 Warsaw PAP in English 2113 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Katowice, Dec. 20—Deputy leader of the miners strike committee Waldemar Kaplon upheld the firm stand of the strike committee that the protest would be called off only after talks with government representatives produce concrete and satisfactory results.

Speaking to PAP on Sunday [20 December] he said that the striking miners were dissatisfied with the Saturday TV appeal by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and references to miners tradition and sentiments were recognized by them as out of place in the current situation.

Moreover, spokesman for the Silesian railway management Ryszard Krawczyk announced that 178 freight trains stopped running in the Katowice, Czestochowa, Bielsko-Biala and Opole Provinces. However passenger trains kept running according to schedule.

Deputy leader of the railwaymen's strike committee of the Solidarity Union Bogumil Wojewoda assessed that about 12,000 out of 40,000 railwaymen have actively participated in the week-long strike staged in support of the miners protest. Demands put forward by railwaymen mainly concern wages and redressing enterprise debts.

Economic Committee Views Privatization, Import Fees

WS1612122892 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1305 GMT 9 Dec 92

["Government Press Office Communique After the Council of Ministers Economic Committee Session"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] The Council of Ministers Economic Committee (KERM) has recommended to the Council of Ministers "Fundamental Privatization Directions in 1993." KERM also accepted the draft bill on compensatory fees on some agricultural and food products imported from abroad."

The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers accepted the draft bill on "Fundamental Privatization Directions in 1993," prepared by the Ministry of Ownership Transformation. Immediately after the KERM session, the Council of Ministers began debating this document. If the government accepts the bill, the document will be forwarded to the Sejm as part of next years's budget bill.

The bill on the compensatory fees on some agricultural and food products imported from abroad was reviewed by KERM on 26 November, and was forwarded to the ministries for discussion. On 9 December, the committee reviewed the new version of the document. The draft bill is designed to protect domestic manufacturers of agricultural and food products and [words indistinct]. According to the bill, the fee would be calculated for agricultural-food products imported from abroad, from custom-free areas, and from customs storehouses. The fee would pertain to the following categories of commodities:—Those of significant

importance to farm profitability, and to production restructuring.—Those of quantity and conditions that could threaten to seriously damage the domestic producers of similar commodities, or directly competitive products. A list of these commodities would be drawn up by the Council of Ministers through a decree.

The bill defines a compensatory fee as the positive difference between the so-called threshold price—that is, the corrected market price of the commodity periodically set by the minister of agriculture and the food industry—and its price abroad. The foreign price would amount to the customs value of the agricultural or food product plus customs duties, border tax, and other fees levied on imported goods. The bill does not envision exemptions from the compensatory fee. Appropriate customs regulations would be applied.

Criminal and financial responsibility for violating the compensatory fee regulations would be determined by provisions of the criminal-treasury law.

The means of determining [words indistinct] is to be set by the Council of Ministers decree on the motion of the minister of food industry.

Sejm Drops Anti-Abortion Bill From Agenda

AU1812141292 Warsaw PAP in English 2315 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—The Sejm (lower house) on Thursday [17 December] decided to drop from the agenda of its present sitting a debate on the draft anti-abortion law and a referendum concerning penalization of abortion. The motion to postpone the abortion debate submitted by the Union of Labour (UP) and Solidarity deputy Alojzy Pietrzyk was adopted with 164 votes against 155 and 54 abstentions.

Presenting the motion, Pietrzyk argued that it was necessary to "consistently focus parliament's work on current economic problems of the country and on a search for effective solutions".

Approving the motion, the Sejm resolved to start its meeting with a discussion on the situation in Upper Silesia hit by miners' strikes.

Upon the Sejm's decision to put off the abortion debate, deputies of the Christian National Union (ZChN) called on the government coalition for an urgent meeting to fix a new date for a discussion on abortion issues. Following the meeting of representatives of seven coalition parties held Thursday evening, ZChN spokesman Ryszard Czarnecki declared that the ZChN's parliamentary floor group "has demanded that this debate be held still before the end of this year during a sitting of the Sejm called specially for this purpose."

Deputies of the Union of Labour Wieslawa Ziolkowska and Zbigniew Bujak described the proposal to hold another Sejm sitting between Christmas and the New Year as a "political error" which would only add more tension to the atmosphere in Poland.

At a press conference held earlier on Thursday, leader of the ZChN deputies club Stefan Niesiolowski described the result of the vote to put off the abortion debate as "insolence" and as an act of "disloyalty on the part of liberals" who, he claimed, had agreed earlier to discuss abortion during the present sitting.

Democratic Union (UD) deputy Bronislaw Geremek said that the UD would make no deals about the abortion bill. He added that the "government coalition is just as strong as it was before and nothing will undermine it if it continues a wise policy".

Supporters and opponents of the anti-abortion bill picketed the parliament building since morning hours on Thursday. The first to arrive on site were members of the Pro-Familia Movement for the Protection of the Unborn Child, and members of the "Nie" (No) social movement opposing anti-abortion legislation. Successive groups of demonstrators joined the picket in the afternoon. The demonstration ended at 1700 amid shouts like "murderers of children" and "down with the communists", and mutual invectives.

Ministry Not To Intercede for Gun-Running Suspects

AU1812144192 Warsaw PAP in English 2229 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] New York, Dec. 17—The Polish Foreign Ministry will not be replying to an appeal made by the lawyers of five Poles who were extradited from Germany and who now face charges of gun running to Iraq, according to the Polish consul in New York, Jerzy Surdykowski. The lawyers had wanted the consulate to stand bail for the accused and to provide accommodation for them, but Surdykowski says that their appeal is not sufficient.

If the consul provided accommodation for the accused, the extraterritoriality of the consulate would have to be suspended and come under United States jurisdiction. This would require a one-off agreement between Poland and the United States, which in turn means that certain diplomatic procedures would have to be set in motion.

Therefore such an appeal would have to be initiated by the federal prosecutor or the Department of Justice, institutions that have shown no willingness to cooperate on this matter, stresses Surdykowski. Polish journalists have been unable to speak to anybody at the two institutions on the matter.

Unofficial sources say that the U.S. Department of Justice has not agreed to drop charges in the gun-running case against the former managing director of the Polish firm "Lucznik", Rajmund Szwonder. His lawyer had attempted to cite a law exempting representatives of foreign firms from U.S. jurisdiction. Szwonder is expected to be extradited from Germany, where he is currently imprisoned.

The Polish Embassy in Washington has refused to comment on the case of the five Poles since it is a "delicate" question.

Ministry Recognizes Czech, Slovak Republics

AU1812191292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/12/1992—Romania has decided to recognize the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, as distinct subjects of international law and as successors of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, as of January 1, 1993—reads a statement of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The quoted document underscores that the Romanian Government is ready to establish diplomatic relations with the two republics at the level of embassies and make an exchange of ambassadors to reside in Bucharest, Prague and Bratislava and to develop friendly and cooperation rapports with both states in keeping with international law.

Ships Seized in Galati, Giurgiu Due to Embargo

AU2112080692 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by Eliade Balan: "Two More Ships Seized in Galati"]

[Text] On 14 December, customs officers at the [Danube] port of Galati seized two more ships carrying gasoline that were coming from Reni [Ukraine]. The ships were sailing under Yugoslav and Czech flags respectively, and Vidin [Danube port in Bulgaria] was their intended destination. On 15 December, a total of 17 ships were seized in the ports of Galati and Giurgiu, according to the UN Security Council resolution. Six of them were Yugoslav ships (all of them transporting fuel), four Ukrainian, one Austrian, and one Czech ship. We would also like to mention that seven ships had started to load their cargo before the embargo was decided. After the resolution of the UN Security Council became effective, the cargo was seized.

Application of Embargo Checked

AU2012174892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1649 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/12/1992—While paying a visit to Galati at the Headquarters of the International Mission for Assistance in Applying Sanctions, the minister of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Office of Great Britain, Douglas Hogg, stated to the ROMPRES correspondent there he could congratulate the Romanian Government for the efforts it has been making to observe the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia.

He said he could notice the Romanian Government's endeavours to observe and strengthen the UN Security Council resolution, and showed satisfaction at having been given the opportunity to get into direct touch with reality. The guest also noticed the problems with which the Romanian authorities are confronted: the shortage of technical material, the busy traffic in the port of Galati and the impossibility to send back the cargoes that do not observe the embargo.

The visit to Galati was an opportunity for getting informed on the spot, stated Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Traian Chebeleu who accompanied the British guest to Galati. It will concretize in a report we are going to convey to the Security Council; I hope it will yield practical measures to clear up the waterway in the port of Galati and, consequently, on the Danube.

Melescanu, Hogg Hold Discussions

AU2012150292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Report by Doina Saiciuc from Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

[Text] Mr. Douglas Hogg, state minister in the British Foreign Office, is on a fact-finding visit in Romania in connection with the application of sanctions instituted by the UN Security Council against Yugoslavia. At the end of the talks with Romania's minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Theodor Melescanu, Mr. Hogg said that these talks referred mainly to the application of sanctions and financial problems raised for Romania, which, for the time being, are not made up for by the international community.

I have recognized and continue to admit, Mr. Hogg also said, the economic implications generated by the application of economic sanctions for such countries as Romania. As a matter of fact, ways and means will be examined with a view to solving the demands that the Romanian minister of foreign affairs raised during our talks.

The chief of Romanian diplomacy, Mr. Theodor Melescanu, expressed thanks for, quote, the extremely firm and effective help granted by Great Britain to Romania while it held the presidency of the European Community, unquote, and expressed the desire of the Romanian side to achieve important political contacts next year.

As far as international issues and the application of the embargo are concerned, Mr. Melescanu told the press that there is no doubt whatsoever in connection with, quote, the extremely effective way in which Romania is applying the sanctions at border points, unquote. This statement was made at the end of the talks.

Regarding transit on the Danube, the Romanian side primarily emphasized the need for, along with efforts toward the application of the embargo, action to be taken to compensate for the damage caused to countries that observe the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council. I understand that the British side, along with other countries, thinks that an improvement in the effectiveness of the embargo has to be correlated with the identification of a system of compensation, which may be multilateral or even bilateral, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs said. The Romanian side has sent an aide memoir including concrete demands for technology that may facilitate the effective application of the embargo.

Melescanu Views Talks

AU2012174792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1630 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/12/1992—Shortly after his interview with minister of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Office of Great Britain, Douglas Hogg, Romanian Foreign Minister Theodor Melescanu made a statement to the press saying:

I could notice with pleasure there were no litigious elements between Romania and Great Britain, and I thanked that country for the highly efficient and firm support it gave us when holding the chairmanship of the European Community, when Romania perfected the accord on association to that European forum. I also expressed our wish to have some summit political contacts preceded by a visit to Romania of the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Mr. Douglas Hurd.

As for Yugoslavia and the situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina, we reached the conclusion that the Yugoslav conflict should be peacefully and politically settled. Romania considers military intervention as negative in the Yugoslav conflict. In our opinion the lifting of the embargo on arms delivery to Bosnia and Hercegovina is not a measure apt to help improve the situation. We think there are too many weapons in the area.

I informed Mr. Hogg about the difficult situation in the port of Galati, since it can be blocked by several ships which do not have clear navigation documents. I requested the British minister that all these aspects should be taken into account by the Security Council on working out instructions which I hope it will give next week.

Melescanu on Brussels, Geneva, Stockholm Meetings

AU1912193292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Mr. Theodor Melescanu, state minister and minister of foreign affairs, returned to Bucharest this afternoon from Brussels where he had attended the proceedings of the North Atlantic Cooperation Committee. Prior to this, the minister of foreign affairs attended the Geneva meeting of the enlarged Steering Committee of the international conference on Yugoslavia and the Stockholm meeting of the CSCE Ministerial Council.

In an interview granted to our reporter, Doina Saiciuc, Mr. Theodor Melescanu emphasized that, aside from discussing very many interesting things, great concern prevailed at the three meetings in connection with Yugoslavia. A positive thing I noted, Mr. Melescanu emphasized, was the fact that with very few exceptions no one believes in the possibility of using force or military intervention to solve the Yugoslav problem. The only solution is the one that will be reached by the sides directly involved in the conflict. What we can do is to help the sides sit down at the negotiating table, Mr. Melescanu said.

Another subject that was discussed at the respective meetings was the situation in the Republic of Moldova. The Romanian minister of foreign affairs noted—as something special—the fact that everybody, including Russia, today concurs that one of the most disturbing elements is the presence of the 14th Army on the territory of the republic.

Referring to another subject of the discussions, namely the one regarding the new stage NATO has entered when one can talk about cooperation between the former Warsaw Pact member countries and NATO countries, Mr. Theodor Melescanu said: We believe that, regarding NATO, the coming year will hold more for us than just a mere glance of sympathy; maybe even our gradual integration in those structures, an integration we badly need in this difficult period.

New Defense Council Members Discuss Treaties

AU1812201692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/12/1992—The secretariat of the Romanian Supreme Defense Council informs that Friday, December 18, a meeting of that council took place in its new composition, chaired by President Ion Iliescu. During the meeting a survey was read on the stage of implementation of the provisions of the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, of the document of Vienna '92 on measures to increase trust and security in Europe and of the Romanian-Hungarian "open skies" treaty.

The Council sanctioned proposals on bilateral cooperation between the Romanian Defense Ministry and similar institutions of other states. The council analyzed and sanctioned proposals for measures to improve the activity of the officers who work at the border checkpoints and proposals to improve the procedures of granting entry visas for foreign citizens in keeping with the Romanian legislation and the international practice.

Several bills on national defense issues were approved and will be submitted to the parliament. The extent to which the decisions of the Romanian Supreme Defense Council have been carried into effect over 1992 was analyzed and the project was read on that body's activity in 1993. The Romanian Supreme Defense Council adopted a number of decisions related to improvement of activities in the field of national defense and security.

Civic Alliance Congress Ends, Elects Leadership

AU2012205092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] The proceedings of the Civic Alliance congress ended this evening, our reporter Elena Perdichi informed us.

During the two days of the congress, the participants adopted the following documents:
—The Civic Alliance Statute with the amendments proposed by the delegates;
—An appeal entitled The Truth About the Revolution;
—A motion for the release of Moldovan Romanians detained in Tiraspol;
—A motion regarding the nonobservance of the mandate granted to the National Audio-Visual Council;
—A motion in connection with the civic and political nature of the Civic Alliance.

The congress of the Civic Alliance also adopted a resolution whereby the leaderships of the Civic Alliance and the Civic Alliance Party are urged to conduct a dialogue in order to clarify misunderstandings and differences that have emerged.

By secret ballot, the delegations to the congress elected the National Steering Council, which, in turn, appointed the Coordination Committee. The position of president of the Civic Alliance will be held by Mr. Gabriel Andreescu, who will be assisted by five vice presidents—Valerian Stan, Petre Mihai Bacanu, Laurentiu Ulici, Gheorghe Ceausescu, and Nicolae Prelipceanu, our reporter informed us.

Major Liberal Groups Hold Unification Talks

AU1812170192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] A summit meeting of four liberal political groups was held at the Bucharest headquarters of the National Liberal Party [PNL]. Present were representatives from the PNL, the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT], the New Liberal Party [NPL], and the Bratianu Liberal Union [ULB]. The meeting was attended on behalf of the PNL by President Radu Campeanu, Crin Halaicu, Gheorghe Voinea, and Petre Dragomir; on behalf of the NPL by its President Viorel Catarama, Radu Boroianu, and Radu Cojocaru; on behalf of the PNL-AT by party President Horia Rusu, Dragos Sabadean, Dan Trepcea, and Ludovic Orban; and on behalf of the ULB by party President Ion I. Bratianu, Ioan T. Popescu, and Valentin Banica. The initiative for the meeting came from the PNL, which also invited the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD]. The PNL-CD did not send any representatives.

After the summit Campeanu, Rusu, Halaicu, and Boroianu made brief statements to the press. They said that an agreement was reached on the need to unify the liberal movement, something which, however, cannot be accomplished immediately.

Today's talks will be followed by more meetings in January, which will discuss problems pertaining to the liberal doctrine in general and concrete ways of unifying the movement.

Rusu said that any concrete discussion on unification must be preceded by clarification of doctrines. Asked whether he considers his future participation in Civic Alliance Party [PAC] meetings to be likely, Campeanu answered in the affirmative, confirms our reporter Elena Perdichi.

FSN Party Considers Name Change

AU1812164392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] The second day of the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front [FSN] proceedings opened with a report on that political group's organizational situation presented by Radu Berceanu, who talked about problems concerning general and organizational rules. Likewise, proposals were made to ensure proper operation of FSN bodies at all levels. A proposal was made that the party change its name to National Democratic Party, by maintaining FSN as its original name [as heard]. This decision will be made during the party's extraordinary national convention next March.

Oancea Comments on Agricultural Prospects

AU1812122692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1032 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/12/1992—"Although this country has fertile land, important technical resources, and highly skilled personnel, Romania has come to the embarrassing situation to import most of the food it needs," Agriculture and Food Minister Ion Oancea said in an interview for the daily MERIDIAN. This is highly due to "grave mistakes made in the post-revolution period." But "agriculture can recover quickly." To justify his optimism, the minister mentioned the 2.2 million hectares (5.5 million acres) of land sown with grains, the 500,000 tonnes of chemical fertilizers, and the hard currency availabilities for the purchase of pest killers, which all together could give a yield of 6-7 million tonnes of wheat next year, "which will spare us from importing cereals and will also leave something for export, too."

While arguing that a farmer needed more than the land itself to be an producer, such as technical expertise, machinery, and equipment, the minister remarked that many obstacles were still there in the farmer's way: high bank credits, delays in granting them, insufficient number of tractors (138,000 available as against 480,000 necessary) and other farm equipment. Asked to refer to the progress of the reform, Minister Oancea assessed that privatization in agriculture was much more advanced than in other sectors, but that one should distinguish between land ownership and land exploitation, because "it is no use having land if one has nothing to work it with."

Karadzic Criticizes U.S. Secretary Eagleburger

LD1812122292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Pale, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Radovan Karadzic told TANJUG that the Serb Republic, by adopting a declaration on the end of the war, does not wish to prejudice a political solution which he hopes will be arrived at at the Geneva conference. Asked what his explanation of this decision would be, since the Muslim and the Croatian sides refused to accept it, and what can be expected now, Karadzic replied: "We simply wish to show the entire international community that the Serbs are no longer at war."

"Eight days after the declaration was made public—which time we need to inform all our local commanders—we will halt all our military activities apart from defending ourselves in extremity. We will not even respond to provocations," Karadzic said in an explanation of the declaration on the end of the war which was adopted by the Assembly of the Serb Republic yesterday [17 December].

"We want the international community to send monitors to all front lines in order to secure the observance of our decision," the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serb leader stressed.

Asked whether he has already asked for monitors to come to the Serb Republic, Karadzic replied that he has not yet made that request, but that the declaration itself means that the Serbs have taken on the obligation before the international public that they would no longer fight and that they are ready to sit down at a negotiating table until a final solution has been found. "I would wish, however, to appeal to the public, primarily to the United Nations, to be witnesses of our attempt to end the war. This is a good opportunity to see who is aggressive, who advocates further fighting, and who is against it," Karadzic said.

"I hope that hostilities will really cease this time because all recent cease-fires proved to be increasingly effective," Karadzic said. He added that some constructive tones can be noticed in the international community. "Many countries are against any military intervention. More truthful information is given to the public in many countries regarding the real nature of this conflict, and let us hope that the international community will not miss this chance to end the war by exercising pressure over the Muslim and the Croatian sides to accept the end of the war," Karadzic said.

Asked what is his assessment of U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger's statements, Karadzic said that "Eagleburger went overboard in his statements" and added "fortunately, Eagleburger is not the United States. There is an America aside from Eagleburger, but unfortunately, that America is uninformed. We will try to correct that and to this end our parliament adopted an appeal to the American people which will be sent to the public media in the United States."

"Eagleburger is doing a legal job, establishing who is a war criminal, who is politically responsible, who is not, but he fails to establish the truth. In a word, Mr. Eagleburger has been trying to create serious difficulties for President Clinton and the new administration at the end of the term of the old one. These are his ulterior motives," the president of the Serb Republic said.

Karadzic further said: "We are convinced that the new U.S. Administration will study the situation well and that it will not succumb to the media, and that it will form its own policy. I have the impression that Mr. Clinton, who represents a political individuality, will wish to pursue his own policy, not to carry a heavy burden like a hot potato inherited from the present administration. Unfortunately, some people in the U.S. Administration are very anti-Serbian and biased, but I can say that Mr. Bush and the Pentagon leadership have displayed great wisdom. Thanks to the wisdom of President Bush and the U.S. Army top command, a catastrophe was avoided, which would have surely set all neighboring countries ablaze and caused World War III."

Asked about intimations regarding possible military intervention against Serb aircraft if they violate the no-fly zone, Karadzic replied: "I believe that this initiative cannot pass unnoticed and that it is aimed against warmongers. I am convinced that the international community realizes this and that official reports show that there have been no combat flights by Serb aircraft, i.e. that there were only training flights under the UN control and flights evacuating the wounded. Even if an aircraft were downed, it would be Croatian, because they are regularly flying the Zagreb-Knin Krajina route and very frequently they carry out reconaissance flights over the Neretva River valley."

"I would not wish such a resolution to be adopted on the basis of which Croatian aircraft would be downed, because we do not wish the exacerbation of the war, regardless of the fact that these would be Croatian aircraft. We wish to sit at a negotiating table and reach an agreement. It is not in the interest of the Serb people that the Croats do not have their state. It is in our interest to establish relations with Croats like those that the Serbs and Croats had before 1918, before a common state was created; and it is widely known that there was much fondness between the two nations then," Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic concluded.

Serb Republic Names Karadzic New President

AU1812164692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The 23rd Assembly of the Serbian Republic session ended early this morning. We will mention some of the decisions made. The Presidency has been abolished and the post of president of the

Republic has been introduced. Radovan Karadzic was elected president. There are also two vice presidents, Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic. The new prime minister-designate of the Serbian Republic is Professor Vojin Lukic, who has been a representative of the Serbian authorities in UNPROFOR until now. The Assembly also issued an appeal for the Serbian and Montenegrin people and an appeal to the American people, which stresses that the Serbian people have the right to self-determination. The appeal cites the long friendship between the American and Serbian peoples and asks the Americans to influence their government to enable the Serbs to exercise the basic human rights of self-determination and having their own state.

Izetbegovic To Continue as Bosnian President

AU1812171292 Paris AFP in English 1601 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 18 (AFP)—Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic confirmed here Friday [18 December] that he would remain in office as president after his one-year mandate expires Sunday.

He has served two terms, one before and one since Bosnia-Hercegovina became independent in April, setting off war in the former Yugoslav republic.

The Constitution limits a president to two terms but Izetbegovic told reporters that according to the Constitution, during war, "the mandate of the presidency is prolonged."

The state's seven-member collective presidency was elected by popular vote in 1990, when Bosnia was still part of Yugoslavia. It chooses a new president annually.

The Moslems, once the dominant community in Bosnia, have been driven by separatist Serbs into several besieged regions, the largest stretching from the capital Sarajevo in central Bosnia to Travnik, 100 kilometres (60 miles) to the northwest.

Meanwhile, their allies, the Croats have carved out a region of their own in the southwest of the country. The Croats feel it is their turn to hold the presidency, which normally rotates among Moslem Slavs, Croats and Serbs.

More than half of Bosnia-Hercegovina is now in the hands of a Bosnian Serb army which seeks to set up an independent, ethnically pure Serb state.

Izetbegovic and his Moslem SDA party still cling to the idea that Bosnia-Hercegovina exists as an independent state embracing all three communities.

UN Envoy Lord Owen Holds Talks in Sarajevo

Cautious Over Intervention

LD1712163592 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Interview with Lord Owen, co-chairman of the UN peace conference, by Jeremy Paxman on 16 December; Owen speaks from Geneva, Paxman from the studio—from the "Newsnight" program; recorded]

[Text] [Paxman] Well, joining us now from Geneva is Lord Owen, one of the chairmen of the conference. Lord Owen, Lady Thatcher says that ruling out military intervention is giving comfort to the Serbs. What do you say to that?

[Owen] Well, I don't agree with that. I don't think anybody has ruled out military options—certainly I haven't. I don't think you can possibly deal with a war situation by saying you would never use military force; the question is how to use it, when to use it, and how to threaten it. And, my judgment at this stage, it is right to go to a Chapter 7 determination which would allow you to enforce a no-fly ban, but that doesn't mean you have to enforce a no-fly ban. It would be much easier if we can get agreement—and we've already substantial agreement in the sense that since I negotiated this initial agreement the middle of October there have been no strafings from the air, either from fixed-wing aircraft or helicopters.

[Paxman] But you are at least consistent. I mean, you have been advocating a no-fly ban since last October, and we haven't bothered to enforce it since then.

[Owen] Well, no, I...[changes thought] Come on, we've had a situation up until October where they were flying fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters against Croatian Muslim fighters, and this was adding to the already existing imbalance in a quite disgraceful way. That has stopped since the middle of October. They are still flying in violation of the Security Council and that's got to stop.

[Paxman] Why is there any reason to believe that—I understand diplomacy is of course the business of a... needs a professional optimist, of course—but why is there any reason to believe that we're going to make any further progress within the next month?

[Owen] Well, I...ah, the argument for it is the Bosnian Serbs have, I think even they have reached the limit of their territorial ambitions, and frankly those ambitions are already grotesquely exaggerated and they have to be rolled back. But I think they are now ready to talk and to negotiate. I think the Bosnian Croats are ready. The Bosnian Muslims—and very understandably—don't want to negotiate from weakness and are reluctant to do so, and they want to see—and they have every right to see, in my view—the demilitarization of Sarajevo. We've got to convince them too that the international community is determined to maintain the integrity and independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina and also, if I could just add one other point, over a period of time, through judicial and legal process in a new Bosnia-Hercegovina, reverse ethnic cleansing. That's a hard task, but it's an essential task.

[Paxman] Are you saying that it should be the commitment of the countries there to restore pre-existing borders?

[Owen] Yes, I think the existing borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina should stay intact unless there was any agreement from all the parties to make changes. But I think the essential thing is to keep a single state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we're not prepared to accept the Bosnian Serbs' attempt to partition it or even the Bosnian Croats'. Partition offers no solution. The Muslims will go on fighting; they'll go on fighting with the support, financially, of the Islamic world.

[Paxman] But during the whole time that this process has been going on, and the rest of the world has been agonizing about what on earth it should do, all that's happened is that the Serbians have taken control of 70 percent of Bosnia.

[Owen] Yes, they have advanced their frontier during this period, and they have continued ethnic cleansing, and there have been grotesque abuses of human rights—it's no use denying that. There have been some limited signs of progress in some areas like the removal of the Yugoslav forces from Pravlaca, the freeing-up of Dubrovnic, the stopping of the use of combat aircraft, but they're small gains in comparison with what's been going on.

[Paxman] It's a pretty poor record really, isn't it?

[Owen] Well, you can shrug your shoulders if you like from the safety of a studio. You come out here and try and do better.

[Paxman] Lord Owen, thank you.

Arrives in Sarajevo 18 Dec

AU1812132492 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 18 (AFP)—International peace negotiator David Owen arrived in besieged Sarajevo Friday [18 December] to revive truce talks that seem to be falling apart.

The European Community's envoy arrived from Zagreb with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic who said he saw "no hope" for peace.

While the warring factions had agreed here Sunday [13 December] on a ceasefire and the opening of corridors for free passage in and out of Sarajevo, the fighting had continued and the parties had set new conditions for peace.

Outlining the purpose of his visit, Owen said he wanted to get "serious movement" on the peace process. "It is not serious until we get the shelling of Sarajevo stopped."

Contrary to earlier reports, Owen came without the U.N.'s special envoy to former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance.

Asked if the U.N.'s peace effort was not collapsing, Owen said: "I am not sure I agree with your premise. Slowly, painfully, we have built a framework for negotiation."

Meanwhile Bosnian Vice President Ejub Ganic dismissed the Serbian offer to let people leave Sarajevo Friday as a "cheap propaganda trick".

"As you can see," Ejub told journalists in the city, "the Serbs cannot find anybody interested in leaving."

Discusses Reopening Airport

LD1812153592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Report by Sarajevo correspondent Zeljko Ruzicic]

[Excerpt] Vance and Owen are participating in the work of a mixed army group at Sarajevo airport, where high ranking officers of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army have been negotiating with leaders of the Serbian aggressor's side about the opening of humanitarian corridors in the Sarajevo region for the free movement of citizens and the demilitarization of the city. As announced by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command in Sarajevo, Vance and Owen will have talks at the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency this afternoon with Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic. Talks between the two cochairmen of the peace conference and the aggressor side will be held in the Lukavica barracks today, as well.

The Serbian aggressor side, i.e. its leadership, experienced a heavy defeat today. Aggressive propaganda that has lasted for several days by chetnik media which called on the population of Sarajevo to leave Sarajevo today and enter free territories where they would choose their destination was not met with response. Only a few elderly Sarajevo citizens, predominantly women, gathered at the meeting point near St. Trinity Church at a previously agreed time. Nobody wishes to be taken in by chetnik propaganda which has as its goal the complete ethnic cleansing of Sarajevo, but also the mobilizing of new soldiers into the chetnik ranks which all Army conscripts would be liable to do as soon as they arrive on territory occupied by chetniks. [passage omitted]

Holds Talks With Karadzic 18 Dec

LD1812233992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2159 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—This evening in Lukavica Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic, and David Owen, a co-chairman of the Geneva conference, held talks about the course of the conference in Geneva and discussed actions which will improve its work, SRNA reports.

After the meeting, at which the cessation of clashes in Sarajevo was discussed, Karadzic said: "We did not opt for urgent steps, but for a global solution of the problem where Sarajevo is concerned," SRNA says.

Karadzic stressed that any cheating was out of the question at the talks, in other words, attempts to provide tactical advantage for one side by stopping fighting,

"This is something we are afraid of because of our experience with the other side, especially the Muslims, which does not take any agreement honestly."

"If that happens, there is no agreement," Karadzic said categorically. "It is only through a genuine desire to help the inhabitants of Sarajevo that we can agree on stopping the fighting and on opening the exits from the town."

Karadzic put particular stress on the fact that the Serb side will never give up full authority and power over parts of the town in which Serbs live, ie. over Serb municipalities in Sarajevo, SRNA reports.

Karadzic Comments on Talks

LD1912104892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0211 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Pale, 19 December (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic said that in talks with co-chairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Lord David Owen, consensus was reached that an agreement among the three warring sides to halt hostilities, stop the war, and freeze the situation on battlefronts was necessary.

At a news conference held in Pale late this evening [18 December], Karadzic said that he agreed with Owen that it was necessary to establish a demarcation line between the warring sides and reach an agreement about UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] supervisory measures.

The third issue about which an agreement was reached, according to Karadzic, is the free movement of civilians; an issue about which all three sides signed an agreement on 13 December.

Talks about all issues for which consent in principle was reached will continue in Pale this morning.

Before the talks, which were held in Lukavica today [18 December], Lord Owen himself said that his aim was to demilitarize Sarajevo and that he would stay there until the warring sides approach their standpoints.

Talking to journalists, Lord Owen refused to comment on reports that Muslim forces had forcibly prevented the evacuation of citizens that was announced by the Serb side. In connection with the declaration about ending the war adopted by the parliament of the Serb Republic on Thursday, Owen said that he was "not interested in documents adopted by one side," or those "which are adopted today only to be violated tomorrow."

According to a view voiced by Karadzic at the news conference, Lord Owen is determined to make progress in the direction of reaching a political solution, and he does not support militaristic and aggressive demands for a military intervention.

Karadzic expressed optimism in connection with the continuation of the talks but is also reserved in viewing the realization of issues agreed on because of, as he said, "bad experiences with cheating and tricks of the Muslim side."

"We will accept everything that makes life easier in Sarajevo and the entire Bosnia-Hercegovina, under the condition that no tricks are played to gain strategic advantage," Karadzic said and stressed: "If the Muslim side pulls a trick, the war will continue, but the international public will then understand that Muslims do not want peace but the continuation of war," Karadzic concluded.

According to him, Croats have also opted for ending the war, and it is only Muslims who are still procrastinating," he said.

The end of the war and the free movement of civilians were also the main topics of today's tripartite talks between military commissions at Sarajevo airport, the deputy commander of the main headquarters of the Army of the Serb Republic, Major General Milan Gvero said this evening [18 December].

According to him, the Muslim side does not accept the declaration on ending the war adopted by the Serb side, while the Croatian side, as he said, has not yet voiced its opinion on it.

Concerning the free exit from the town for civilians who want to leave, Gvero said the Muslim side is setting completely unacceptable conditions such as the complete removal of Serb artillery positioned around the town.

He added that the Croatian side also supported in principle the agreement on the evacuation of civilians who want to leave Sarajevo, and suggested that the evacuation be carried out in phases and that only 500 civilians from the Muslim part of Sarajevo leave the town before Christmas. This is not acceptable for the Serb side, he said, and recalled that the Serb side insisted on the consistent implementation of the agreement reached on the basis of the London agreement based on the Geneva Convention on Human Rights.

As Vice President of the Serb Republic Nikola Koljevic said at the news conference, the inhabitants of Sarajevo today live in an atmosphere of fear and are exposed to special terror by the police and special units that try to prevent people who want to leave Sarajevo from gathering at the meeting point in front of the Catholic church in (?Dolac Malta), and there was even shooting in the Novo Sarajevo district, so according to Koljevic, "the danger of a mass crime was imminent." Consequently, the authorities of the Serb Republic lodged a protest letter with UNPROFOR and asked their representatives to go to the meeting point and prevent a massacre of unarmed civilians, Koljevic said.

The authorities of the Serb Republic also sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in which they offer guarantees that the Serb army will not launch any attacks

on Sarajevo. The Serb side does not intend to evacuate the town in order to capture it, as the Muslim authorities claim in their propaganda campaign and in their attempts to find a pretext for ignoring the agreement on the free movement of citizens, the letter says.

President of the Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic made scathing remarks against the Muslim authorities for breaking the agreement on leaving Sarajevo and announced that the Serb side would in future negotiations raise a resolute question concerning Muslims' ignoring of all agreements reached so far.

Karadzic and Koljevic then announced that the evacuation of citizens who wish to leave Sarajevo will continue until, as they stressed, "the last Serb leaves the town." They called on citizens to cross the Serb held territories freely, from where they can go wherever they like they stressed.

Karadzic also announced that he would ask for a trial of criminals who shoot at unarmed civilians and who are responsible for the terror against Serbs and members of other nationalities in Sarajevo.

Holds 2d Round Talks With Karadzic

AU1912161992 Paris AFP in English 1550 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Report by Michael Adler]

[Text] Pale, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dec 19 (AFP)—European Community negotiator Lord Owen arrived in Pale near the Bosnian capital Saturday [19 December] and immediately assailed Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic for conditions in Serb-besieged Sarajevo.

"I went around to a hospital in Sarajevo today. I don't expect to go into a hospital and find that shells have gone through the recovery room and nurses in the intensive care unit nursing in overcoats because of the cold.

"It's a disgrace. What I saw is something we cannot let continue," he said.

Facing Owen at a table at the Panorama Hotel here, Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's Serbian nationalists opposed to the republic's independence, nodded his head and said, "Something must be done."

Sitting next to Karadzic, however, Nikola Koljevic, a member of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb presidency, shot back: "It's too bad you didn't go to places in Sarajevo where Serbs have been arrested" since Serbian Bosnian radio in Pale invited the population to evacuate Sarajevo.

The offer had said U.N. troops would help in the evacuation which reportedly would start Friday [18 December]. But the U.N. denied this in a statement, and there were no signs of anyone evacuating Friday.

Bosnian Vice President Ejub Ganic dismissed the offer as a "cheap propaganda trick."

Owen, who flew into Sarajevo Friday, and French General Philippe Morillon, the U.N. commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, had to negotiate their way from their residence in Sarajevo this morning when protestors calling for more aid for besieged towns in eastern Bosnia blocked the exit from their residence with a sit-down strike.

Owen told them, "If you want me to stay in Sarajevo and not stay in barracks, you have to let me through." He said he should "not have to negotiate my exit everyday."

Owen assured the demonstrators that he would write to Geneva concerning their problems.

Present in Pale for the United Nations were Owen, Morillon and Sarajevo U.N. Commander Egyptian General Adnan Abdelrazek.

They negotiated with Bosnian Serb leaders Karadzic, Koljevic and Bosnian General Ratko Mladic.

Owen had originally planned only a one-day visit to Sarajevo to attend a meeting at the airport grouping senior soldiers of the warring Serb versus Bosnian government forces.

But after winning an agreement from the Moslems to attend the meeting, after they at first refused, Owen said he would stay "as long as it looks as if we could try and reach before Christmas some overall agreement."

He was cautious, however, saying: "I don't want to raise anyone's hopes."

Bosnia's Moslems now want de-militarization of the city while the Serbs have called for a unilateral ceasefire.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said Friday he would meet with Karadzic at the next major international peace talks in Geneva on January 2, saying Serbs would either have to agree on non-ethnic geographical regions or there would be continued war.

Since Bosnia was recognised as independent last April, the Bosnian Serb community have seized more than two-thirds of the republic's territory though they number less than a third of its population.

2d Round Talks End

LD1912171692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Pale, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The second round of talks in Pale between Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Lord David Owen, cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia, ended this afternoon.

Also taking part in the talks, which lasted several hours, were General Phillippe Morillon, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, and General Ratko Mladic, chief of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army. The talks

considered possibilities for ending the war, an agreement on demarcation lines between the warring sides, the demilitarization of Sarajevo, and the free movement of citizens.

Speaking to journalists after the talks, President Karadzic said that they also discussed the possibility of deploying the Canadian battalion in the region of Banja Luka. Karadzic stressed that the parliament of the Serb Republic had not agreed to such a decision and considered that it was not necessary to deploy members of the blue helmets in this area.

According to Karadzic, there was also discussion of the possibility of "cooling" the weapons on the Sarajevo battlefield and of pulling them back. The stand of the Serb side, according to Karadzic, was that Serb artillery around Sarajevo could not be removed, but they agreed to its monitoring.

In a short statement to Serbian television, Lord Owen said that all problems were covered in the talks, but that more time was needed to consider them. The talks concentrated mainly on the problem of the demilitarization of Sarajevo and the "freeing of hostages," Owen said. Asked whether he had evidence of the presence of Croatian troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina and whether this was discussed, Lord Owen said that he would not connect this with today's talks, but that these problems should be the subject of the talks of the mixed military groups.

In this connection, however, Karadzic added that the problem of the involvement of Croatian forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina was mentioned in the talks. UN Resolution 787 demands the withdrawal of Croatian forces, and this is something which should be permanently on the table, Karadzic said. He added that this time it was not the main topic of the talks, but that it would have to be examined at the conference in Geneva.

The talks will resume tomorrow morning.

Owen Seeks To Avoid Sarajevo Division

AU1912210692 Paris AFP in English 2054 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Report by Michael Adler]

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 19 (AFP)—E.C. negotiator Lord Owen said in Sarajevo Saturday [19 December] that he was trying to keep the besieged Bosnia-Hercegovina capital from being divided like Beirut.

"We want to try to avoid this city being divided like Beirut. We want the citizens who have lived in different parts of the city to feel free to go back to their homes," Owen said after a day of shuttle diplomacy between the besieging Serb and resisting Slav Moslem and Croat sides.

Families have been divided and unable to join each other since Serbs began taking over territory in April when Bosnia-Hercegovina became an independent state.

Owen said negotiation was necessary and that Western military intervention could not solve the problem.

"Don't dream dreams," he said about intervention.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic thanked Owen for his diplomatic efforts here, and said: "The citizens of Sarajevo have noticed that Lord Owen is one of the first foreigners who stayed overnight in Sarajevo. We appreciated that very much."

Owen has said he could remain until Christmas if it helped to secure an overall agreement.

Bosnian officials as well as Owen laid down their guidelines here Saturday for progress in Owen's shuttle diplomacy to end the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian army second-in-command Stjepan Siber said the Serb forces besieging Sarajevo "insist on stopping all hostilities, (granting) freedom of movement for civilians, drawing apart of the warring parties by the forces of UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force) but the heavy artillery tanks and all heavy weapons remain where they are so they can threaten to destroy everything."

"They insist on a sort of freezing of the status quo, to remain where they are, on the territories which they already captured in this war. That is the problem," said Siber.

He said the Bosnian army wanted the heavy artillery withdrawn within 48 hours 30 kilometres (18 miles) from Sarajevo while the United Nations foresaw a delay of nine days.

Reliable sources said that Owen, at a meeting with Serb President Radovan Karadzic in Pale, 15 kilometres (nine miles) from Sarajevo, on Saturday pushed for the Serbs at least to withdraw artillery from near Sarajevo's airport.

The sources said that the Serbs were reluctant to do this since these would leave their troops vulnerable to the greater infantry strength of the Bosnians.

Meanwhile, Owen said he was pursuing a wide range of measures to get failed talks working between the two warring sides.

He told reporters he hoped to start talks on policing Sarajevo "so people can see it as an open city."

"We also hope to get talks going about electricity, water and telecommunications," three services almost completely cut off in Sarajevo, Owen said.

Siber praised Owen for a "great effort" but said the Bosnians would insist on getting their country back, as the world recognized it upon becoming independent in April.

Serb forces fighting for a separate Serb state now control at least 50 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina, a former Yugoslavia republic lying between Serbia and Croatia.

Sarajevo Demilitarisation Framework Set

AU2112132492 Paris AFP in English 1249 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Lukavica, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dec 21 (AFP)—E.C. negotiator David Owen wrapped up an unconventional four-day peace mission in Sarajevo's war zone, saying a framework was set for demilitarising the besieged city.

Flanked by Radovan Karadzic, president of the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Bosnia, at a Serb military base, Owen said: "I think we have laid a framework for the demilitarisation of Sarajevo".

"There will be no doubt many upsets and many difficulties," he said in Lukavica on the outskirts of Sarajevo, referring to possible outbreaks of fighting.

In discussions since arriving in Sarajevo Friday [18 December] with warring Serb and Bosnia government sides, Owen won agreement on creating four commissions to deal specifically with the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital, instead of trying to tackle truce measures for all of the former Yugoslav republic.

The most important commission will work on beginning demilitarisation of Sarajevo, starting with the neighbourhood around the airport to the west, one of the areas of the hardest fighting.

The other three commissions are to create a joint police force, to get utilities functioning as Sarajevo is without electricity and almost totally without water, and to work on humanitarian aid.

Owen, who co-chairs the Geneva peace conference on Yugoslavia along with United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance, has been in Sarajevo since Friday, staying at the residence of U.N. commander for Bosnia French General Philippe Morillon.

He has travelled through the front lines to Serb-held areas, besides meeting in Sarajevo with Bosnian officials.

It was the first time one of the co-chairmen has stayed in Sarajevo, which is shelled daily, instead of making a brief visit.

Reports Formation of Mixed Commissions

AU2112161992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Report by Risto Djogo from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] There is gunfire in the Sarajevo battle zones today, although the intensity of the fighting is somewhat less than it has been in previous days. The fighting is fiercest in Ilijas, which Muslim forces are attacking from the direction of Breza and Visoko. The Serbian army is successfully repelling infantry attacks, and so the defense lines remain unchanged. The Muslim side continues to try to infiltrate saboteur groups into Serbian territory. The Serbian army successfully forced back and surrounded one such group in the area around Mount Jahorina. Its liquidation on the Pavlovac-Kijevo line is under way. [passage omitted]

Military commissions from the three warring sides are holding negotiations at the airport, while the fourth round of talks between Radovan Karadzic and Lord Owen was held in Lukavica this morning. After the talks, Owen told journalists that he was pleased with the proceedings thus far. Four mixed commissions have been formed—military, police, infrastructure repairs, and for free movement of civilians. Lord Owen is travelling to Zagreb this evening to hold talks with General Satish Nambiar [UNPROFOR commander]. It was also agreed that 500 Serbs, Muslims, and Croats whose health is most endangered be allowed to leave Sarajevo freely. The Muslim side is still to give its consent to this. Owen also stressed that Sarajevo should become a free city without heavy weapons and with joint policing to allow unhindered movement to all residents.

Karadzic: No Evacuation Without Demilitarization

LD2012130392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0026 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Pale, 19 Dec [date as received] (TANJUG)—The authorities of the Serb Republic [RS] in Bosnia decided to raise the issue of the implementation of the agreement on the freedom of movement for citizens wishing to leave Sarajevo as a condition for the pacification and demilitarization of this city—RS President Radovan Karadzic announced this evening.

At a news conference in Pale, President Karadzic and Vice President Nikola Koljevic said that "violence against the Serbs has assumed dramatic proportions over the past two days."

President Karadzic stressed that "state terror against the Serbs in Sarajevo was imposed before the very eyes of the world public and, so to speak, under its sponsorship." "This is the end of such a regime. What the Muslim authorities did yesterday and today is criminal behavior, for which the Serbs will certainly not forgive them."

He also said that RS authorities had to abandon until further notice appeals for the evacuation of citizens, and that he would have to ask them to be patient "inside their houses and flats in order to stay alive." "We will, however, find ways of rescuing them," said Karadzic and announced that he would "make it a top-level issue" in the course of future talks."

Recalling that both General Philippe Morillon and Lord Owen confirmed that the agreement on the freedom of movement must be part of the negotiating package,

which it indeed is, but that the other side was constantly cheating, Karadzic stressed that the Serb side decided to put an end to it. "We shall not use this agreement to stipulate or halt the talks, but we shall stipulate and halt the implementation of our projects before any civilians are allowed out of Sarajevo," said Karadzic in conclusion.

Serbs Say Muslims Blocking Civilian Evacuation

LD1912005892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2208 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's tripartite talks, held at Sarajevo airport and attended by Lord Owen, the Serb side again offered to end the war. The Croat side did not react to this proposal and the Muslim side rejected it, SRNA reported this evening.

At the talks, which are scheduled to continue tomorrow at 1000, the Serb side was represented by Major General Milan Gvero, the deputy chief of the general staff of the Serb Republic's [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] army; the Bosnia-Hercegovina army loyal to Alija Izetbegovic was represented by Stjepan Siber, and the HVO [Croat Herceg-Bosnia military and political leadership] was represented by Dario Kordic.

According to SRNA, Serb army representatives stressed that the Muslim side violated all agreements on free passage and that it prevented the inhabitants of Sarajevo from leaving the city today.

"Today, the Muslim side prevented civilians from leaving Sarajevo. According to some reports, 10 civilians were killed. The Muslim side is doing everything it can to blame the Serb side for this and is attacking Serb positions at the same time. Now that Lord Owen is in Sarajevo, I am sure that this will contribute to a better assessment of the situation, even more so because he has expressed great interest in the Serb proposal on ending the war, in particular for ending the war along the demarcation lines in Sarajevo," SRNA cites General Gvero as saying.

Karadzic Appeals to Citizens Wishing To Leave

LD2012212392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Sunday urged the citizens of Sarajevo wishing to leave the capital of the war-battered former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to have "a little patience," saying their problem would be solved within nine days.

After a meeting with Lord Owen in Sarajevo's Lukavica District Karadzic quoted the co-chairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia as saying that people of Sarajevo have the right to leave the town, the News Agency of Bosnian Serbs SRNA reported. Lord Owen will ask that the question of their exit be solved within nine days.

Fierce clashes between local Serbs (31 per cent of the population) on one side, and Moslems and Croats (44 and 17 per cents respectively) on the other, have continued in Bosnia-Hercegovina for the past eight and a half months. The latter are backed by scores of thousands of troops from the neighbouring, also break-away Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

People of Sarajevo, threatened with death from cold and famine, are hardest hit in the current war. To solve the problem, the Serb side suggested two weeks ago to open corridors enabling the exit of all citizens irrespective of nationality who wish to leave the town. A document guaranteeing it was signed last Wednesday by all three parties to the conflict. However, Moslem authorities in Sarajevo went back on the arrangement by declaring a curfew and banning the gathering and movement of citizens on Friday, when the evacuation was to start.

The Bosnian Serb leader said that demilitarisation of Sarajevo and "other vital questions connected with the situation in the area" were discussed during the meeting with Lord Owen, which was also attended by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, French General Philippe Morillon.

These questions will be dealt with "in a package" and are expected to be resolved also within nine days, said Karadzic.

Serb Commander Denies Demilitarization Report

LD1912232792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2204 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—We proposed an end to the fighting, the disengagement of the sides in the conflict, the free movement of the population and the provision of impartial international supervision, Major-General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, stressed in a statement to the SRNA news agency, "denying a report on Muslim television in Sarajevo this evening on the alleged demilitarization of the south-western part of Sarajevo."

Stressing that there was no question of this, and particularly not of the withdrawal of heavy artillery from Ilidza and from Butmir, Dobrinja, and Nedzarici, Gvero said that the Serb side had been categorical and that it had been recorded in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] minutes that they did not wish to discuss this since it was contrary to the proposal adopted by the People's Assembly.

We can discuss with the Muslims in the way suggested yesterday by General Simpson, and that is precisely what we said, Gvero stressed. "The Muslim propaganda machine is persistently putting forward proposals which suit only them and is trying to convey them as conclusions of the mixed working group."

No Agreement on Demilitarizing Sarajevo Airport

LD2012211392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] The agreement on the cease-fire and the demilitarization of the area around the airport, which had been accepted in principle, was not signed during the talks at Sarajevo's airport today. The aggressor army's negotiators presented their own plan at the talks, which was rejected. The negotiators will again consult their military commands, and the talks will continue tomorrow.

Although Lord Owen planned to leave Sarajevo this evening, he arranged to hold talks tomorrow with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Lord Owen held a meeting with Alije Izetbegovic this evening as well, but no details of the talks have been announced.

Airlift to Sarajevo Resumes After 3-Week Break

AU2112100892 Paris AFP in English 0953 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Bosnia, Dec 21 (AFP)—The international humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo resumed early Monday [21 December] after a three-week break with the arrival of a military transport plane chartered by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

The plane, a British Hercules C-130, which had taken off from the Croatian capital Zagreb, touched down at 8:20 a.m. (0720 GMT). A French Transall C-160, flying in from the Adriatic port of Split, was expected around 9:00 a.m.

U.N. air controllers said a total of 16 flights by British, French, German, U.S. and Canadian planes were expected throughout Monday.

The humanitarian airlift was suspended on November 30 after two U.N. planes came under light arms fire as they were landing and fierce fighting was going on in the airport vicinity.

Croatian Leader Denies Negotiating With Serbs

AU2012161292 Stuttgart STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG in German 16 Dec 92 p 4

[Report on interview with Mate Boban, leader of Bosnian Croats, by Andreas Braun; place and date not given: "But We Fight for 24 Hours Per Day"]

[Text] Mate Boban is looking harassed. He no longer wants to hear the continuous accusations that the Croats are making common cause with the Serbs in the division of Bosnia. "The West knows that is not true," says the leader of the Bosnian Croats, who does not disguise his annoyance at "such rumors." He sat down at one table with the Serbs and their political leader, Radovan Karadzic, only at the insistence of the Western peace mediators. And, come to that, he had at best talks (Croatian: *razgovori*, with the Serbs, but never negotiations (*pregovori*). Why does the truth not get to the West and to Germany? Boban only has one explanation for it: "We fight at the front for 24 hours per day and 30 days per month." There is no time for public relations and the promotion of one's public image, he says.

But Boban does not look like a bad promoter of his public image. Behind the gray double-breasted suit and the cultivated outward appearance one would expect an insurance agent rather than a master of war and peace. After all, Boban is the president of the "Republic of Herceg-Bosna" that was proclaimed by the Croatian side, and he also has an important say in all military actions of the Croatians of Bosnia-Hercegovina. For the first time in 10 months, he took the time for a trip abroad, as he affirms. In Stuttgart he briefly—because the plane that takes him home does not wait—canvasses for his policy. He is seeking support from his numerous compatriots in the region and now and then wags a warning finger. He unequivocally threatens that the Croats of a recruitable age who will not return by 31 December to fight against the Serbian aggressors in Bosnia will be treated like deserters.

At the same time, he is doing his utmost to weaken the impression that the Croats in Bosnia are striving for a union with Croatia over the long term. "Our objective is a sovereign Bosnian state in which the three constitutive nations—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats—live in complete equality," Boban explains. Thus, the Croats are taking an "intermediate position," while the Serbs and Muslims are taking "extreme positions." The Serbs want a greater Serbia and want to annex as much Bosnian territory as possible; the Muslims, for their part, have the vision of a civic state—a vision that Boban denounces as "unitarian-centralist" because it would lead to the determination of Bosnia's destiny by the Muslims, the largest nation, alone. What Boban would prefer to conceal bashfully is that in western Hercegovina, where the Croats' share in the total population is particularly high, the Croatian dinar is the only valid currency. Apparently the chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) also does not like to mention that in his party "unitarian-centralist" elements, who, however, meanwhile had to leave the HDZ—the same party that forms the government in Croatia—were also represented once.

But Mate Boban also does not want to hear the accusation of a "silent annexation." The Muslims enjoy all rights in the Bosnian territories held by the Croats, although they have not done very much to resist the Serbian conquerors, he said with some rancor in his voice. "For all that, we Croats have also defended 250,000 Muslims with our blood," and, after all, 90 percent of the Bosnian territories that are still free are held by Croats, Boban says. The only hope of the Bosnian Muslims is cooperation with the Croats. Only the Holocaust, as he calls the "ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs, opened the Muslims' eyes. The 52-year-old politician explains the outbreak of fights between Croats and

Muslims alone by provocations by infiltrated liaison men of the Serbian-Yugoslav counterintelligence service.

In Boban's opinion, the war in Bosnia is far from being stopped. On the one hand, the Serbian thirst for land is still not satisfied, while, on the other, the world continues to be indifferent. "Although the international community has known for a long time of the atrocities that are committed in our country, it has been silent. That is cynicism of the blackest kind." Boban expects that in this winter tens of thousands of people will die of hunger or be killed by Serbian shells in Sarajevo alone "if the aggression is not stopped." However, Boban no longer wants to believe in an intervention from the outside—in this respect he gave up long ago. But at the next moment he is again sure of victory. "We have the power to defend ourselves and to free Bosnia." Only the arms embargo must finally fall, he says.

UN General Threatens Force if Peace Talks Fail

LD2012195692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] General Phillipe Morillon, commander of the UN Protection Forces for Bosnia-Hercegovina, held a meeting at the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency with Mile Akmadzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with whom he discussed possibilities and conditions for establishing a cease-fire in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

After the talks, General Morillon said for the first time that if the peace talks fail, military force may be used in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Force will be the only way if the talks in Geneva on 2 January do not find suitable solutions for all nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Morillon stressed. Mile Akmadzic said that he asked General Morillon for a more timely delivery of humanitarian aid, fuel, and 300 tonnes of oil a week for the needs of Sarajevo.

Battlefront Reported 'Relatively Quiet' 20 Dec

LD2012135292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces were halted and pushed back to their initial positions on the night between Saturday and Sunday [19-20 December] in the eastern Bosnian Foca region, the information service of the Hercegovina Corps of the Army of Bosnian Serbs in Bileca announced on Sunday.

On Saturday morning, Moslem forces launched a strong offensive and entered part of the Serb territory where they burnt down a large number of Serb homes, killing people who had not succeeded in escaping. There have been no immediate data on the number of victims on the Serb side.

On the Trebinje section of the Hercegovina battlefront, forces of Bosnian Serbs fired back when the Army of the Republic of Croatia on Saturday afternoon opened fierce artillery fire, the information service of the Hercegovina Corps of the Army of Bosnian Serbs announced.

Over 50,000 members of the regular army of neighbouring Croatia are taking part in the civil and ethnic war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, predominantly on the Hercegovina battlefront.

In the eastern Bosnian municipalities on the left bank of the Drina River, it was relatively quiet overnight and on Sunday morning.

The Serb authorities in Bratunac have not yet issued the final toll of a mass crime committed against Serb villagers there early last week by local Moslems and their henchmen mujaheddin from certain Islamic countries. The Bratunac authorities said that 63 victims had so far been identified and buried, while their total number exceeded one hundred, most of whom were women, children and the elderly.

Serb Army Denies Charges of Raping Muslim Women

LD1612150492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Bileca, Dec 16 (TANJUG)—Representative of the Bosnian Serb Army, Colonel Novak Milosevic, said on Wednesday [16 December] he was appalled by the untruths launched in some of the Western media that the Serbs in the war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina had raped over 50,000 Moslem women.

"Reports in some of the Western media that the Serbs have raped over 50,000 Moslem women in Bosnia-Hercegovina are absolutely untrue," the deputy commander of the Hercegovina Corps of the Bosnian Serb Army told TANJUG.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for eight months been the scene of a civil war between local Moslems, Serbs and Croats, which broke out over the three peoples' differences on Bosnia's future organization.

"These unbelievable lies have been fabricated by Croat-Moslem propaganda teams and have two objectives: To defame Serbs in the eyes of the international public and to conceal their own crimes since it is known that they are detaining Serb women in brothels," said Milosevic.

The War Crimes State Committee of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia- Hercegovina sent a report to the UN in November, saying some 800 Serb women were tortured in 17 brothel-prisons set up by the Moslem and Croatian forces in Bosnia.

The committee said there were six such prisons in Sarajevo alone, in addition to those in Tuzla, Zenica, Bugojno, Konjic, Bihac....

The Belgrade press recently carried many moving testimonies by Serb women from Bosnia, including underaged girls, who sought help at the Belgrade University Hospital after being released from Moslem brothel-prisons.

Colonel Milosevic said the "latest Croat-Moslem propaganda move is only a continuation of the previous ones, such as the lies about concentration camps for Moslems in Bosnia and a Serb massacre of civilians queueing for bread in Sarajevo."

It was later established that there were no concentration camps for Moslems and that the Moslem side was responsible for the massacre.

Bozidar Babic and Miodrag Djelica, doctors at the Bileca hospital, said not a single Moslem woman from Bileca came to their hospital claiming she was raped. "Six Moslems work in the Bileca hospital, including two doctors," said Babic. The raped Moslem women, if there were any at all, could have visited Moslem doctors "if they do not trust the Serb ones," he added.

Colonel Milosevic called on all the reporters to come to Hercegovina and see for themselves that no Moslem women were detained and that the reports about rapes were a pure lie.

Serbs Release POWS From Bileca Detention Center

LD1912212292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—Fifty-one prisoners of war were released on Saturday [19 December] from a prison in the eastern Hercegovina town of Bileca through the mediation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Forty-one prisoners and 52 members of their families were handed to organs of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in the neighbouring Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, said the ICRC.

Ten prisoners decided to stay in the area of Bileca, which is in the territory of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

ICRC officials asked the prisoners and the members of their families leaving for Montenegro to state whether they were going from Bileca of their own free will, said the ICRC.

Earlier this week, Bosnian Serbs released through the ICRC 2,428 war prisoners from the Manjaca detention centre near Banja Luka, central Bosnia, recalled the ICRC.

Serbs Release Prisoners, Close Manjaca Camp

LD1812133492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Manjaca, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbian Republic authorities closed the Manjaca prison camp, near Banja Luka, after today's release of about 420 prisoners of war. This act was witnessed by Bert Schweitzer, International Committee for the Red Cross [ICRC] representative; Elie Weisel, Nobel Prize winner; Daniel Salvatore Schiffer; Cedomir Aleksic, assistant health minister in the Serbian republic government; and domestic and foreign journalists.

In accordance with the agreement between Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, and ICRC Chairman Cornelio Sammaruga, all 2,420 prisoners left the Manjaca camp this week. To the applause of the prisoners, Lieutenant Colonel Bozidar Popovic, the camp commander, took leave of them today, asking them to tell the world and domestic public "only the naked truth" about their treatment at Manjaca. The convoy of coaches carrying the prisoners of war set off for Novska.

Belgrade Accused of 'Warmongering' Policy

AU2012152492 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 92 p 2

[Commentary by Aleksandar Milosevic: "Herostrats From Dedinje"]

[Text] Rumors say that the results of the upcoming elections in the so-called Yugoslavia or Serbia are absolutely predictable. Slobodan Milosevic is going to win, if by no other way than by using all the new electoral tricks, at which he has been quite an expert. However, it seems that the destiny of both Serbia and the Serbian people is predictable, too—a war against the whole world. To maintain his power, Milosevic offers that option in his electoral campaign while touring all over Serbia and calling people to prepare themselves for battle to the last man. That herostratic [Herostrat—the man who burned down the temple of Artemis in Ephesus to immortalize his name] cry of Satrap [a Persian regent known for his cruelty and avarice] from Dedinje is wrapped up in slogans on the preservation of national dignity and civil honor that sound good, and what they actually offer the Serbs is misfortune, suffering, and an apocalypse. In these calls for a war to the last drop of blood Milosevic is, of course, not alone. There has been really an infinite number of warmongers in Serbia in the last several years. Among the most vociferous ones are the Montenegrin Bishop Amfilohije, then the chetnik leader Seselj, then the lawbreaker and war criminal Arkan, and many others. It was believed that some different voices would be heard from the team of Milan Panic and Dobrica Cosic. However, Cosic offered a surprise by his performance before officers of the First Army District. Although his visit to that prominent military institution was not a part of the official electoral campaign, Belgrade Television reported on this encounter of the "father of the nation" and the officers in the time reserved for the electoral promotion of parties and individuals. What Cosic said to the officers surpasses, actually, each of the Milosevic's warmongering displays hitherto. Pleading with the professional soldiers not to act in a partisan way as an organization, he called upon them "in these hard times for the fatherland" to persist in the battle, if needed, to the last man. Because, as Cosic claims, the survival of Serbia, Serbianhood, and the Serbian people is in question. About fact that Serbia "at this moment is the loneliest country in the world, and the Serbs the most endangered people," the president of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did not take the trouble to explain. Such a warmongering performance by Dobrica Cosic could lead one to the conclusion that he decided shortly before the elections whom he was going to support. It is certainly not Milan Panic, who, despite the authorization to run as a candidate, is as a matter of fact not allowed to publicly promote himself, with the regime's television tripping him up constantly. What do all these herostratic calls for an exterminating war by which the present Serbian leaders address their people actually mean? It is obvious that both Milosevic and Cosic have realized that a peaceful solution of the former Yugoslavia's crisis would mean not only the end of their political careers, but also an instant peril of finding themselves in a discernible future in some international court of justice, being indicted for war crimes. Intensification of fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is surely a result of Serbia's stimulus, if not of its orders, confirms the assumption that the current Serbian leadership does not want any peaceful solution. They started the war game, invested all they had, and they cannot go back any more. The fact that it is Serbia and the Serbs who are going to be sacrificed for all the wrong moves, bad evaluations, and disastrous policy obviously does not bother them very much. Milosevic and lately evidently Cosic assume that a possible military intervention by international forces, that has been ever more discussed, could act as a cohesive element for the Serbs and Serbia, so they could at least in the short run postpone their political downfall.

Inviting the Serbs to prepare themselves to fight to the last man, the herostrats from Dedinje did not, however, forget their personal safety. They have already provided for themselves and their closest aides shelters in Cyprus, Iraq and some other countries, believing that these countries will protect them from the international hand of justice. In their war calculations, the current Serbian leadership evidently counts on the fact that the territories of Serbia and Montenegro have not suffered a damage in war activities by now, so there are enough technical, combative, and human reserves that would, in case of a wider military intervention, enable them to hold out for at least 10 days. A scenario of further events is predictable, too. In case the international military forces intervene not only in Bosnia-Hercegovina but also in Serbia, the Belgrade propaganda machinery would try to convince the international public that the civilians and civilian facilities were the main victims of intervention. Apparently, they believe that in such a situation the public in the world, and particularly in countries the forces of which would intervene in Serbia, should demand a cessation of military activities, and the Belgrade regime would try all over again to present it as its political, moral, and above all military victory. The scenario is worked out in detail, and Milosevic, Cosic, and other patriarchs of the great Serbian nationalism do not bargain for the price either of other peoples or of their own people. To achieve their aims, the fact that in this moment there is no well- organized and clearly outlined opposition with straightforward political programs and aims came in very handy for Milosevic and company. That is exactly why, even if it comes to the wider military intervention on Serbian objectives, a part of the responsibility will be assumed, besides by Milosevic, Cosic, and the rest of the flock, by those opposition forces that did not work resolutely and on time to stop the war at its origin, in Serbia itself. Of course, Milosevic and apparently Cosic, too, count on the possibility that the intervention could initiate clashes going beyond the borders of former Yugoslavia, supposing that such a possibility could divert the world from the military intervention. However, the question is

whether their capabilities to form political judgments are objective, because all the countries of this world have had enough of genocides, crimes and territorial plundering. Slowly but surely the world is becoming aware of the fact that only the military defeat of Serbia can guarantee a permanent peace in this region.

Hadzic Addresses Krajina People on Anniversary

AU1912204592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Address by Goran Hadzic, president of the self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina, to the Krajina people; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Brothers and sisters, Krajina people, on the first anniversary of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, I wish to remind you that in the referendum of 1990, on the religious holiday Preobrazenje Gospodnje, we decided in a democratic way to remain in the state of all Serbs.

Our people responded to the armed aggression by the Ustasha state of Croatia by taking up arms to defend the imperiled Serbianism. From Plitvice and Borovo Selo to Vukovar, the Ustasha murderers continued their orgy of blood that started in 1941. The people organized themselves and opposed the destruction of their homes and shrines and everything Serbian from cradle to grave. The united Catholicism, supported by Brankovici, set in motion the final solution to the Serbian issue according to their own recipe. [sentence as heard] With tremendous sacrifices, the Serbian people managed to defend Krajina, without allowing the division of the people.

Our just struggle has been presented to the world as greater Serbian aggression against the Croatian people. The world then satanized the Serbian people in an unprecedented way and inflicted upon them the most inhuman punishment. In fighting for the international recognition of our state, we are fighting for truth, for the accomplishment of the ancient right of people to self-determination, for life in peace and freedom. We will never sell our Serbian dignity to anyone at any price, not for the package deal of special status. We know our enemies, and we know we are not alone. The youngest Serbian state that we have created is and will be the bastion of the defense of Serbianism against any aggressor. It is a state of spite, pride, and dignity.

The economic development of our country is the basic precondition for the return of our people who are now scattered all over the place. I take this occasion to thank, on the behalf of the people of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the people and leadership of Serbia and Montenegro for their generous help without which our sacrifices would have been greater and our destiny more uncertain.

With God's help, long live the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Federal

Panic Blames West for Lack of Support

LD1912211992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic has sharply criticized Western countries for failing to uphold the process of democratic changes in Yugoslavia. During a meeting on Saturday [19 December] with a party of visiting British MP's [members of parliament], Panic said that instead of extending support, Western countries had been tightening measures for implementing the U.N. sanctions unjustifiably affecting the people, not politicians. The Western world bears heavy responsibility for what is happening in the territories of former Yugoslavia, pointed out Panic. The West has worked out the "Star War" system for pulling down communism, but not a "Star War" for peace, he added. "Had you supported the democratization in Yugoslavia instead of sanctions, they would have been lifted long time ago because the conditions for that had been created," the prime minister said. "Instead, what I was receiving through the heads of your diplomatic missions were only threats from your governments. That was what I was receiving from you, while here at home some branded me as your agent, a traitor, or voiced similar absurdities"—said Prime Minister Panic. He told the British M.P.s that a gradual economic reunification of the former Yugoslav republics would follow the end of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina because their economies were interdependent to such an extent, that they could not survive on their own. Instead of nationalism, what must be propagated in Yugoslavia and the former republics is national, religious and all other kinds of tolerance, stated Panic. He recalled that members of as many as 29 different nationalities live harmoniously in some towns in the Serbian province of Vojvodina. All hostile activities in Bosnia-Hercegovina must cease, demilitarization must be put into [words indistinct] and the arms embargo must not be allowed to be lifted, the Yugoslav prime minister said. He saw the [words indistinct] send many more U.N. troops to stay a year or two in the former Yugoslav republic, until the stabilization of peace which, he said, was in sight. Panic positively assessed the U.N. decision to allow the urgent import of fuel for heating hospitals, schools, nurseries and other institutions in Yugoslavia, emphasizing that such a decision had had to be adopted earlier. He asked the visitors to raise the question of Yugoslavia's recognition in the British Parliament immediately after the Yugoslav elections, and to initiate a decision to allow the Yugoslav national team to participate in the world football championship in the United States in 1994.

Foreign Minister Djukic Views Recent Events

LD1812223492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—A great deal has been said lately in Edinburgh, Brussels, Stockholm, New York, and Geneva about the Yugoslav crisis and the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. At some of these meetings participants were at loggerheads. In Geneva, however, reason prevailed.

This is how Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic assessed this week's events concerning the Yugoslav crisis, as well as the Serb side's latest moves in Bosnia-Hercegovina and NATO's predictions. He was speaking in an interview with TANJUG's diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas.

[Cordas] In the past few days, the Serb side has made several important moves (the release of POW's from Manjaca, declaration on ending war operations). It is logical to assume that these moves were made in coordination with the Yugoslav political leadership. This is precisely what the international community has been asking Belgrade to do. Would you consider that the most important request which the international community put before the FRY has thus been fulfilled?

[Djukic] It goes without saying that the FRY Government and the ministry I head welcome these decisions on the part of the Serb side in Bosnia-Hercegovina, i.e. the authorities in the Serb Republic. It is well known that neither our government nor the objective part of the international community and the public have ever accepted the senseless and one-sided assumption that only the Serbs are to blame for the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is a joint responsibility. The measures undertaken by the Serb side represent a peaceful move.

The policy of the FRY, which is not directly involved and which does not represent any one of the sides in the civil war between the three communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has for a long time been directed toward halting all military operations and finding a political solution. The latest decisions, backed by additional guarantees given by the Serb side concerning the free passage of humanitarian convoys carrying aid for the civilian population, illustrates their readiness to seek a peaceful political solution. We greet this move wholeheartedly. During a recent meeting when distinguished leaders of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina were received by President Cosic—I was present on that occasion—the principle of seeking a just, permanent, political, and peaceful solution was given unanimous support.

Such actions of the Serb side in Bosnia-Hercegovina further underline the responsibility of those in Bosnia-Hercegovina who demand "the continuation of the war until the final victory." This refers mainly to Alija Izetbegovic's Muslims. The situation is similar with large numbers of regular units of the Republic of Croatia, which are today generally recognized to be fighting as the aggressor in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Cordas] How do you view the decision of the UN Sanctions Committee, which expresses readiness to allow the FRY to import oil for humanitarian purposes during the winter, if humanitarian organizations request

it? It is known that you personally prepared the path for such a decision in New York recently. We therefore consider you the best informed person to answer this question: Can that decision be taken as the beginning of the process of lifting the sanctions against the FRY?

[Djukic] We were of course glad to learn about that decision, or rather recommendation, of the UN Sanctions Committee. The committee actually answered a letter by Prime Minister Milan Panic in which he asked for a permission to import a large amount of oil products (almost 1 million tonnes) for purposes which no civilized community should ignore. It is possible, and even logical, that my recent mission in the struggle for lifting sanctions in the very seat of the UN in New York, contributed to the decision being reached sooner. This is certainly not the moment when anything else should diminish the obvious importance of the fact that this is the first step, but maybe also "a step of seven miles," which marks the beginning of removing the most severe forms of blockade to which our country has unjustifiably been exposed, because we do not want the war and are not a party to it. My ministry and the FRY Government will continue their actions.

[Cordas] Several international meetings dealing with the Yugoslav crisis have been held recently—Edinburgh, Stockholm, Brussels, Geneva. How do you view the messages and stands of these meetings in the context of the Yugoslav crisis?

[Djukic] For a long time—unfortunately without sufficient and expected understanding and balanced stands—Yugoslavia has been the subject of discussions in the most important international bodies and meetings. Or maybe, rather than Yugoslavia, I should say: what is called the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and especially the war which continues to be waged in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The meetings you mentioned resulted in conclusions and stands which can be viewed as a further aggravation of the situation by giving warnings to all sides involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. What all the meetings have in common is that their participants note the urgency of stopping military flights over Bosnia-Hercegovina. Unfortunately, we are now moving toward fresh warnings, connected with the possibility of punishing those who violate the air-exclusion ban by military force. This is a very serious decision, and all the meetings you mentioned—in Edinburgh, Stockholm, Brussels, and Geneva—have shown that the international community knows that this decision involves potentially immeasurable risks. Retaliation against those who violate the ban on military flights in Bosnia-Hercegovina could cause another wave of retaliation on the ground. Furthermore, experience so far has shown, for example, that the Croatian side could cause confusion and trigger a dangerous spark by its flights over Bosnia, whereas the warring parties directly involved in the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina could not have any influence on it.

I am not surprised, therefore, that the core of documents and stands in all documents adopted in Europe recently are very carefully formulated. They are still supporting the search for a political, not military solution for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Yugoslav crisis as the basic principle. If that were not so, the entire world, and not only Yugoslavia and its former republics, would be exposed to a terrible risk. I would therefore take their recent messages as a warning, and especially as an encouragement to start searching without further delay for agreements and solutions acceptable to all three constitutive nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Everything else is a dangerous illusion. The FRY Government does not support military solutions and adventures, and advocates with all its might the principle of observing political agreements adopted in principle in the documents of the London conference on Yugoslavia.

In the series of meetings of this kind, the meeting of the supervisory committee of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia still marks the victory of reason and peace, i.e. the commitment to a strategy of negotiation and peacefully solving the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and even the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia as a whole.

We appreciate the role which the co-chairmen of the conference, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, played in it.

[Cordas] Some of the latest decisions and stands on Yugoslavia, passed during last week's NATO session in Brussels, seem to warn of an intention to significantly change the present role of this Western military alliance. There are rumors that in the future NATO organs will enforce peace and that the blue helmets will then keep it.

[Djukic] The end of the bipolar world has inevitably prompted a re-examination of the roles played by blocs, above all NATO and the ones in the West in general. If the East has changed, and it has, the bloc structures of the West cannot remain unchanged. All these, NATO and the EC, and to some extent the CSCE, were conceived and created at a time when Europe and the world looked different. It is now necessary to reorganize and reassess all of these organizations.

This, of course, primarily refers to NATO. This was, to quote you, the feeling in Brussels lately. It is, however, worth singling out and observing the fact that the latest NATO session failed to give support to direct military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina, i.e. on the territory of former Yugoslava. A correspondence has even started with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. NATO supported the principle that there cannot be any military intervention without the consent of the secretary general and the UN Security Council, in accordance with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, i.e. Article 42 of the Charter.

No one, therefore, is prepared to launch a widespread military intervention which could have unforseeable

consequences. I believe it would. This particularly refers to countries such as ours, which does not resemble Somalia.

I feel, however, that we must take seriously the warnings which we are receiving with increased frequency. The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina must be stopped. The Serb side which, as we have already said, has lately made significant steps toward peace, cannot be the only one to ensure that the war stops. I personally remain a "moderate optimist." There can be no solution in stepping up the war. The FRY Government will continue to do everything in its power so that reason prevails and it is accepted as truth that there could be no political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegoovina without the appropriate consent of the qualified representatives of its three nations of which neither, as we all know, represents a majority in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Warns Against More Arms for Bosnia

LD1912210192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 19 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—"More arms for Bosnia-Hercegovina would only mean more war" in that war-battered former Yugoslav republic, said Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic. In a statement to the Syrian News Agency SANA, Djukic said that "an intensification of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina would carry a greater danger of its spreading to the neighbouring regions."

The U.N. General Assembly on Friday [18 December] asked the Security Council to lift the embargo on arms deliveries to Bosnia-Hercegovina, where local Moslems and Croats (44 and 17 percent of the population respectively) have been fighting local Serbs (31 percent) for more than eight months.

Djukic said an international military operation in Bosnia would be a fatal mistake which would greatly jeopardize peace in the whole world.

"If the war were to spread to the neighbouring regions, it would completely eliminate all chance of a stable peace in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Mediterranean region," he explained.

The fact that none of the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be said to be the majority nation makes it necessary for their problems to be treated with wisdom, in consultations, with international control and the making of territorial corrections and concessions where necessary and internationally verified, said Djukic.

Everything else would be hazardous and unacceptable as far as the interests of global peace are concerned, he added.

Asked about the feasibility of an international military operation, dubbed by some "Balkan Storm", Djukic said it had its proponents only among the "belligerent representatives of some governments."

I do not believe that such an idea would meet with understanding in U.N. forums, especially the Security Council, said Djukic and added that it was also opposed by the co-chairmen of the Geneva-based international conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

Commentary Views Possibility of Military Action

AU1912171492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] It is not only war-mongering rhetoric that we have been hearing at the EC summit in Edinburgh, the NATO ministerial meeting in Brussels, the meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers in Stockholm, and in other places, but a concrete plan for military action on the territory of the former Yugoslavia which might be carried out but does not have to. It all depends on the developments in our country and on the extent to which the members of the said political and military associations can agree on their interests.

The visible caution concerning direct military involvement is not coincidental, particularly if one keeps in mind the fact that prior to that, one has to know the objective, the size of the deployed forces, the duration and cost of the operation in view of the inevitable victims, chiefly in manpower. It is understandable that soon after the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact as the chief rival to NATO in central Europe, it has been accepted in the military doctrine and the strategy of this alliance and other old and newly formed centers of world power that the security of the old continent can be secured by means other than military ones. This means security can be achieved not by war as the extension of a certain policy, but by political, economic, and military pressure to force the desirable behavior of a country and its people. The economic sanctions, embargoes on equipment and fuel, and military blockades that have been implemented against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are a practical test of such a policy.

Of course, the military factor is counted on in carrying out the aforementioned activities, which is mostly supported by current and former U.S. officials. They demand that something finally be done in Yugoslavia. Washington is expecting that something to come from Europe, since the United States is militarily engaged in Somalia, even though it is not excluding the possibility of air support by the U.S. Forces for operations against the Serbs. Reacting to such a demand, and to the approval of most other countries that have troops as part of the blue helmets in Bosnia, British Prime Minister Major recently reprimanded his great ally on the other side of the Atlantic by saying that it was easy to be heroic with other

people's lives. Spain, too, is skeptical when it comes to the pertinence of Western military engagement and warns that military intervention in Yugoslavia will not solve a thing while the risk is great.

At the request of Butrus-Ghali, secretary general of the United Nations, NATO experts have already offered a stage-by-stage plan and limited application of military force in Bosnia and perhaps a wider area, which probably includes the possibility of bombing strategic targets on the territory of Serbia and preventive action in Kosovo. The decision on the possible deployment of NATO forces would be made by the Security Council. There are hints that Russia and China might oppose a military solution, and even veto it. However, the chances are that this will not be necessary as there is increased pressure on all the sides in the Bosnian conflict to meet at the same negotiating table in Geneva on 2 January 1993.

Having no choice, Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the Bosnian Muslims, complained that it was with a heavy heart that he agreed to meet again Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs. That reminds us of his spiritual idol, Imam Khomeyni, who several years ago experienced the end of war with Iraq as a very bitter pill, but he still accepted peace as a worldly comfort. The same is expected from Izetbegovic since, as General Morillon, UNPROFOR commander in Sarajevo correctly warned, the solution to the conflict in Bosnia cannot be a military one.

Cosic Says 'Campaign Was Essentially Democratic'

AU2012151292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Report by Dusica Jovanovic from Belgrade]

[Text] Our reporters noted the following at the polling stations: The commune of Fourth of July [Cetvrti Jul] in Dedinje has been packed with foreign and domestic reporters since early morning. Many prominent political personalities have cast their votes there, including some presidential candidates. Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was there among almost a hundred reporters. He told them the following:

[Begin recording] I think that the campaign was essentially democratic. I think that we could see the people and that the candidates had a chance to say what they thought and describe their platforms. Of course, the campaign was not totally ideal, but where in the world where there are people deciding, not machines and computers, do ideal conditions exist? Let us not complain about the conditions. We have to think about our citizens' conscience, our responsibility, rather than about television, newspapers, and about you, who are constantly accused of being biased.

Today I am very hopeful. I have faith in the people because they are politically mature, politically of age, and I am convinced that the people will hardly make a mistake, particularly if they have the freedom not to make a mistake. I believe that this country will always have people who will be capable and prepared to take it out of the crisis in which it finds itself. I still believe in the vital potential of our people.

I do not link up the fate of the people to any party or person, any political personality. [end recording]

Party Leaders View Victory Prospects

LD2012173292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) Dobrica Cosic said after casting his vote in early elections on Sunday [20 December] he had "high hopes of the people who are politically mature and cannot go wrong when they are free to choose right."

The polling stations in the early parliamentary elections in the F.R.Y. and the parliamentary and presidential elections in its constituent republics of Serbia and Montenegro opened at 7 a.m. local time and are due to close at 8 p.m. Serbia has nine constituencies and Montenegro, one.

"I do not see the future of the people as being linked to any one party or personage," said President Cosic in his statement to TANJUG. He said he expected the polls to result in greater political pluralism and the representation of a greater number of parties in the federal and republican parliaments. He described the election campaign as basically democratic though not perfect.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, one of seven candidates for the presidency of Serbia, said he was convinced he would secure his victory in the first round, on condition the elections were fair and aboveboard.

After casting his ballot, Panic said the elections marked the beginning of changes in the country's system and were not a battle between two men—himself and current Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic—but between two systems.

"Democratic changes in Yugoslavia will be made today, tomorrow or the day after," said Panic, who is a favourite for president and the chief rival of Milosevic.

In Montenegro, current president and presidential candidate Momir Bulatovic said, when asked if he might lose, that losing was part of the game. "However, our forecasts show that this possibility is non-existent," he said.

In Serbia, Republican Premier Radoman Bozovic told reporters that "Serbia will reaffirm its independence in the democratic elections," independence which it needs so much if it is to solve the crisis in the Yugoslav lands.

Vuk Draskovic, who is the chief candidate of the Serbian DEPOS opposition coalition for the Federal and Serbian parliaments, said he was "absolutely certain that most citizens in Serbia want changes, peace and a better life. The elections are a chance to win through to economic recovery and integration into Europe."

Dragoljub Micunovic, leader of the opposition Democratic Party, said he expected a narrow victory for the opposition parties, which would then form a coalition government.

Leader of Serbia's opposition Radical Party Vojislav Seselj said he believed the elections would be won by the parties and candidates with roots in the Serbian nation, who formulate their policy in Serbia and do not receive "instructions from the West."

Electoral Body Finds No Fault in Voter Lists

LD1912215192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2113 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Electoral Commission has had no fault to find with the lists of voters for Sunday [20 December] elections, commission officials said on Saturday in a talk with a delegation of the commission in charge of C.S.C.E. (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) affairs of the U.S. Congress.

The early elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and its constituent republics of Serbia and Montenegro have been called for Sunday, December 20. The guests enquired about problems in the work of the Federal Electoral Commission, complaints filed with it and the attitude of the media to its work.

The guests from the U.S. were informed about the size of the electorate in the F.R.Y. and its republics, individually, and the position of the commission that foreign observers are welcome at all stages of the election procedure, down to the vote-counting, the federal commission officials said.

A multi-party Serbian elections supervising board informed observers from Canada on Saturday that the necessary conditions had been met for the early election in Serbia to be regular and held in a democratic climate.

The guests from Canada held, at their initiative, a constructive and mutually useful talk at the Serbian parliament, during which they received exhaustive information about the activity leading up to the elections in Serbia and the work of the supervising board, the Republican Information Ministry said.

The Montenegrin Electoral Commission said the elections in its territory would be monitored by 25 foreign observers, among whom C.S.C.E. officials.

Experts See Monthly Inflation Rising to 100%

LD2112140792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—Inflation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could reach 20,000 percent by the end of the year, the Yugoslav Trade Ministry said on Monday [21 December].

In the first ten days of December, inflation rose to November's 33.3 percent. In view of the soaring prices, experts estimate that the Latin American monthly rate of 100 percent is to be expected.

Yugoslav economists believe that the growing inflation was also caused by Serbia's direct control of 45 percent of the prices and 65 percent in Montenegro.

The recent printing of a new 10,000 dinar note, replacing the 5,000 dinars as the biggest bill, and the printing of the 50,000 dinar-note announced for early January, show that even the Yugoslav Central Bank is preparing for a new wave of the inflation, the Yugoslav economists said.

In 1989, which marks the last ye[illegible]h the Yugoslav Federation functioned as a [illegible]d economic entity, a record inflation rate [illegible],665 percent was recorded. In 1990 the annual inflation rate was 121.7 percent and 235.2 percent last year.

The federal government said that economic reforms and an anti-inflation program can begin only after a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis is found.

Serbia

Milosevic Comments on Kosovo Policy

LD1912152492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0011 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG)—It has been the stand of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia since the very outbreak of the crisis in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina that a solution can be found only through peaceful means, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said on Friday [19 December] in talks with a parliamentary delegation from Great Britain. The truth about this, however, was not able to reach the world because of the media blockade, said a statement released by the presidential cabinet on the talks.

Regarding the situation in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija, President Milosevic underscored that most members of the ethnic Albanian minority were not taking part in the political life of Serbia under pressure from the Albanian separatist movement. The movement does not recognize Serbia or its institutions, and its main objective is the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo-Metohija and its annexation to Albania. The Republic of Serbia will not permit this, Milosevic said.

President Milosevic on Friday also received a delegation of prominent figures in the areas of politics, science, and economy from Russia, who expressed interest in the current developments and the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis. The Russian people do not agree with the policy of dictates in international relations, whose consequences Serbia is directly forced to suffer, they said.

President Milosevic also received here today prominent Greek politician and former Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias. The two sides agreed that their stands and views coincided on acute issues of interests to peace and stability in the region and the political resolving of the Yugoslav crisis, the presidentail cabinet said.

Presidential Elections Held 20 December

Panic Confident of Victory

AU1812120292 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 92 p 5

[Interview with Milan Panic, prime minister of the Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbian presidential candidate, by Miroslav Mikuljanac; place and date not given: "This Is the Beginning of the End of Them"]

[Text]—It is very important that the right people are chosen, and I am sure I will be one of them. There is no chance of the Socialists winning the elections. The current authorities should be granted complete amnesty, once they leave. As soon as we win the elections, we are going to leave the privatization to the experts. It is of paramount importance that we keep the young people in Serbia. Without them, I have no one to work with.

This is the way in which Milan Panic, prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbian presidential candidate, in conversation with the reporters of BORBA and Radio B-92, described the current situation in Serbia and his plans for the immediate future. We had this conversation on the trip from Negotin to Majdanpek, during Panic's tour of the Timok and Negotin regions, after a week in which the prime minister had travelled several thousand miles through Serbia, had given speeches in more than 10 cities, and had met over 200,000 people....

[Mikuljanac] Mr. Panic, do you like the Beatles?

[Panic] Yes, of course, both my children and I like them.

[Mikuljanac] I ask you this, because the atmosphere surrounding you these days is slightly reminiscent of "Beatlemania." There is a lot of optimism, and a little hysteria?

[Panic] Yes, it is incredible. I do not understand it. You can see what is happening. Today I almost lost an arm. They had to help me to pull it out, people wanted to tear my arm off. Something is happening with our people. They say that this has never been seen before in Knjazevac, Uzice, and wherever else we were. It is all spontaneous. I do not give speeches, I just say a few sentences, but you cannot just stop there....

[Mikuljanac] It seems that a lot of people think that you are Serbia's last chance?

[Panic] Personally, I do not think so. There are so many young people....

[Mikuljanac] These young people are saying everywhere that on 21 December they will know whether they are going to stay in the country or leave.

[Panic] I hope they will not do that. I want all those who think this way to try and do something, and to tell everyone why these elections are so important. This is a case of to be or not to be for our country, for our future, for changes. That is why we need to help our team, to draw as many people to the polls as possible, so that good people are elected. If good people are elected, and I am sure to be one of them, we will start changing this system. This system is no good. You yourself saw what happened when I went to the radio station. That poor man told me: "Tomorrow they are going to fire me because I allowed you to speak." And I am the prime minister of the federal government! The president of a municipality does not want to receive the prime minister. They turn out the lights in town squares, they do not allow us into assembly halls. Even under communism, things were not as bad as this. This is the worst I have ever seen or read! I cannot believe it is happening. It is a disgrace for the whole nation. We are a civilized people, thousands of intellectuals, students.... Who do these Socialists think they are? Do they really believe that we are all insane? These people live in a totally different world. That Bozovic, Seselj—they are a disgrace to Yugoslavia! They are disgracing us abroad. We have much better people than them.

[Mikuljanac] Maybe they think their lives depend on their staying in power. Maybe they are afraid of being lynched?

[Panic] I really do think they are afraid. The country is in a very grave situation. If they would come to me, I would pardon all of them. As president of the federal government I would talk to President Cosic about pardoning all of them, so that then we could end this tragic battle, which is a disgrace for the entire nation, before we all disgrace ourselves. Especially if they try to steal votes, which I am constantly told is bound to happen. They are functioning in a constant state of fear. The reason they allowed my candidacy is not that it suits them, but that they were afraid of demonstrations otherwise.

[Mikuljanac] Is a foreign military intervention likely at this point in time?

[Panic] I do not believe in a military intervention. I think that is about the greatest mistake they could make at this moment. All military experts agree with me. I have

talked to General Mckenzie, and he agrees with me. I think that my plan which advocates demilitarization, taking away the arms not only from the Muslims and the Croats, but also from the Serbs, is the only way to deal with the Bosnian problem.

[Mikuljanac] Will the situation be further complicated if the Socialists remain in power?

[Panic] You answer that, because I am thinking only in terms of the future.... That is not "in case I win," because I am going to win. The Socialists do not have a chance of winning the elections. If you saw what happened in Knjazevac, Negotin, Zajecar, Majdanpek, in all the places we visited, then it should all be clear to you: what is happening is the beginning of the end of them.

[Mikuljanac] We have heard that Mr. Mitterrand supports you.

[Panic] Everyone is going to support me. I represent Europe's only hope for peace. Europe wants peace, it is not against the Serbs, the Bosnians, the Muslims, the Croats. What bothers them is the war in the Balkans. In London I proposed my peace plan. They accepted it. Unfortunately, I was unable to implement it fully, because I had a government that was obstructing me. That is why I decided to run in the elections, to remove the Serbian authorities from power, and to carry out the program I proposed in London. That is not treason, it is not selling out Kosovo. They keep saying that someone wants Kosovo, and that they are supposedly defending it. There is nothing to defend in Kosovo, nobody wants Kosovo. It is like defending Belgrade. As if anyone wanted Belgrade. These are political jokes. Worse than that, they are tricks which sow hatred among the people. They are spreading hatred among the people, instead of love, tolerance and smiles, which is what I am offering.

[Mikuljanac] After the elections, and providing you win, how long will it be before the sanctions are lifted?

[Panic] I have been promised that, if I win, they would immediately start lifting the sanctions.

[Mikuljanac] That means that a change of the system is a prerequisite?

[Panic] They want changes, they do not trust this system. I told them that one man cannot be responsible for the whole nation. It is not fair, but that is the way it is.

[Mikuljanac] You have said that Europe should aid the process of democratization in Yugoslavia.

[Panic] Absolutely.

[Mikuljanac] In this campaign, this could be used against you?

[Panic] Oh, let them use whatever they want to use. I want a democratic system. Europe must help and provide whatever is needed, and as for these people here, they can use whatever they like, if they are not ashamed of doing so. It is not important to me to be elected. Because, very soon after it happens, according to Cosic's plan, the office of president of Serbia (that is, of "emperor of Serbia") will be abolished. I will try to put together a coalition Serbian government, in which all the parties will be equally represented. After that, I want to de-politicize the army and the police. I have already managed to do this to a great extent in the army. I want to do the same thing in the police, which is now under the control of the Serbian Government. They invaded the building which housed our ministry and started wreaking havoc in our country. This is a great national disgrace.

[Mikuljanac] How do you envisage life in Serbia after the elections?

[Panic] The first thing we must do after the elections, is to find the least painful way to transform the economy. We must organize committees that will do the job, with people who know how to do it. We will have experts to do this and not students of Marxism-Leninism. This job must be done by people who have had a lifetime's experience doing this. When you want to build a missile you do not go to a blacksmith. The transformation of the economy and the lifting of the sanctions are issues on which I am going to be spending 90 percent of my time.

[Mikuljanac] How do you intend to keep young people in the country during this "transitional period?" Many are fleeing the country.

[Panic] The most important thing is to keep them here. Because if they leave, I will have no one to work with. I have to go to them with a plan, so that they can see that there is a future for Yugoslavia and Serbia; that a glimmer of a better life can be discerned. These are young people we are talking about, and they have a little time. I hope they will also have some patience. The time for changes is at hand. On 20 December.

Polls: Milosevic, Panic Tied

LD2012231292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2244 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic both received 47 percent of votes at today's presidential elections, the Partner Agency forcasts.

At a news conference held this evening, the agency said its exit polls show that Milan Paroski received 3 percent of the votes; Dragan Vasiljkovic, Jezdimir Vasiljevic, and Blazo Perovic each received 1 percent; and Miroslav Milanovic received less than 1 percent. The sample represents 1,370 voters at 60 polling stations throughout Serbia, excluding Kosovo.

Milosevic Said 'Well in Front'

LD2112092792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0453 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic is still well in front in the Serbian presidential elections, Ivica Dacic and Aleksandar Bercek, members of executive committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] stated this morning at 0500.

In the Belgrade electoral unit—based on reports from 620 polling stations—Milosevic received 264,651 and his main rival, Milan Panic, received 242,231 votes.

According to SPS reports, Slobodan Milosevic is in front in many other places in Serbia. Ivica Dacic detailed the vote count in Urosevac: Milosevic 5,421 votes and Panic 255 votes. In Vucitrn, Milosevic had 4,324 votes compared to Panic's 85. Milosevic is also well ahead in Novi Pazar, Krusevac, Arandjelovac, Kraljevo, Aleksinac, Vladimirci, Bajina Basta, Arilje, Backa Palanka, Smederevska Palanka, Topola and other towns.

According to SPS reports, Panic is well in front in Backa Topola [in Vojvodina] with 16,319 votes compared to Milosevic's 5,475.

According to Dacic, final unofficial results for Sremska Mitrovica confirm Milosevic's lead in this town in Srijem [Vojvodina]. Milosevic had 35,715 compared to Panic's 15,343 votes.

DEPOS Charges Polling Anomalies

LD2012203092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Belgade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—By 1400 this afternoon the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] had received a large number of complaints about voting irregularities.

At polling station 34 in Belgrade, by 1000 only the lists with the names of candidates for the republic's assembly of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and the Serb Radical Party were available to voters. The lists of other parties were only brought out after additional intervention.

According to DEPOS, at polling station 22 in the Belgrade municipality of Palilula, ballot boxes were not sealed, ballot papers were not counted, and there were no polling booths.

At polling stations 28 and 29 in the same municipality a voter was caught casting two ballots and the SPS representative was advising voters how to vote, DEPOS claims. [passage omitted]

The DEPOS election headquarters says it has reports that in Gornji Milanovac the population of entire streets and hamlets were left off electoral lists. In the municipality of Dimitrovgrad the police have stepped up patrols of surrounding villages.

DEPOS has also received a number of complaints about names of individuals being dropped from electoral lists and of registration papers being sent to people long dead or who have never lived in the area.

Observers Cite 'Major Irregularities'

AU2112114892 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Konstanze Ripar report on interview with Austrian People's Party (OeVP) deputy Andreas Kohl and Greens deputy Marijana Grandits in Vienna on 21 December—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The elections [in Serbia and Montenegro] were watched by 190 representatives from 20 countries. On behalf of Austria, Andreas Kohl from the Austrian People's Party [OeVP] and Marijana Grandits from the Green Alternative watched the preparations and the election proceedings. They have reached the conclusion that manipulations mainly took place before the elections in a television campaign of the ruling Socialists, as they call themselves, against Milan Panic.

In Grandits' opinion, there were major irregularities in the election. Kohl thinks that it was fairly correct. Konstanze Ripar interviewed the two Austrian election observers, who returned to Vienna only this morning.

[Begin recording] [Ripar] Andreas Kohl made reference to the forged electoral registers yesterday. However, in the polling stations themselves he was not able to ascertain manipulations. He did not see several ballot papers being put in or that only the Socialists' candidates were on some ballot papers, as is claimed by the opposition, but he considers it possible.

[Kohl] Unfortunately, such things happen again and again. The business with the registers is also a serious irregularity, one that I ascertained as early as yesterday and on which we agree. Five to 10 percent of the people who were permitted to vote were not supposed to do so or people who had a right to be entered in the electoral register were not entered. Nevertheless, I must say that the technical proceedings in the election were largely correct. However, the circumstances of the election make it irregular. In my opinion, the election result will be a big surprise.

[Ripar] Both Kohl and Grandits predict a surprise victory for challenger Panic.

[Grandits] I tell you that it would be a miracle and a sign for me that the people can really not endure the burden of the war and the atmosphere any longer and, in their despair, the option for peace, so to speak, for many people means the election of Panic.

[Ripar] Might irregularities also have happened on Panic's side?

[Grandits] This is a very good question. However, after we had checked all the facts and held innumerable talks

with the whole of the opposition, individuals, and intellectuals, it was clearly shown that there was no opportunity for this at all and that those in power had everything in hand, both the type and duration of propaganda. The grossest manipulations took place on television. Electoral registers that were drawn up by the rulers were mailed. That is, all the central points for manipulations were outside the sphere of influence of Mr. Panic or the opposition in general.

[Ripar] Both election observers above all condemn the aggressive election propaganda of the governing party, which did not give its opponent any space in the media.

[Kohl] In the present economic crisis, the people have no money to buy papers, and the copies are decreasing. Almost everyone is dependent on television. And on this television—outside Belgrade there is only state television—Milosevic got 10 hours' broadcasting time, while Panic got one hour. That is to say, an unprecedented media campaign, in which Panic was maligned and presented as a spy and deceiver, was staged for Milosevic. That alone makes this election irregular.

[Ripar] Both election observers believe that Panic will win after all. However, Kohl and Grandits are of completely different opinions on the evaluation of the election result.

[Grandits] You know what I believe: No matter which were to win, if it were the opposition, or, regarding the presidency, Mr. Panic, this would be an absolute miracle. Nevertheless, in view of the way in which the elections were carried out and prepared, a democratic standard cannot be applied to them. Either way, the winner should try to have his legitimization reaffirmed after some time.

[Kohl] Well, perhaps it sounds cynical when I say that the election has been irregular in any event if Milosevic wins. If Panic wins despite the large-scale media campaign against him, he will still be democratically legitimized.

SPO's Draskovic Views Possible Election Outcome

LD2012153992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—"I can say with confidence that the majority of citizens in Serbia are for changes, peace, and a better life," said Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] leader Vuk Draskovic, stressing that "the elections are a chance to pave the way toward economic recovery and our integration into Europe."

"If the voting fails to reflect such a stand because of manipulations, people's anger could explode in the streets," said the SPO leader, expressing his fears.

Commenting on a possible outcome of the Serbian presidential elections, Draskovic was convinced that the second round would be necessary, although both Panic and Milosevic—as candidates most likely to win—claim that they will win today.

"If the Democratic Movement of Serbia wins the majority of votes for seats in the republican parliament today, a presidential candidate who has the movement's support will win in the second round," Draskovic said.

Muslims Voting Despite Appeal for Boycott

LD2012144792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Novi Pazar, 20 December (TANJUG)—According to the municipal electoral commission, more than 40 percent of the registered voters cast their votes in Novi Pazar municipality by 1200. Muslims are coming to the polling stations despite the appeal of the Party of Democratic Action to boycott the elections. Most of them are from urban part of the municipality. The situation is similar in Sjenica and Tutin where the elections are also taking place without any incidents. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Large Muslim, Albanian Voter Turnout

LD2012201192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] At the elections in Montenegro more than 50 percent of citizens with the right to vote cast their votes by 1700, the Montenegrin Republican Electoral Commission announced. Dino Ramovic reports from Podgorica.

[Ramovic] No reports of problems or incidents have been received from any of the 873 polling stations. The electoral commission is not able to give the exact number of foreign observers because most of them have documents issued by the Federal Electoral Commission. It is, however, estimated that there are about 30.

The first unofficial results for Montenegro could be revealed as early as this evening, although the commission says that it will be quite difficult to count so quickly the votes in Podgorica, which has one-quarter of the republic's electorate.

It is interesting that despite the fact that the Party of Democratic Action did not register for the elections, the turnout of Muslims and Albanians is considerable. In villages where Muslims and Albanians form the majority, such as Plav and Rozaj, the turnout is between 40 and 50 percent. This is explained by the fact that there are many Muslims on the lists of deputies of the Montenegrin democratic bloc.

Local journalists gave reporters messy voters' lists which include some dead people, and the Liberal Alliance has lodged a severe protest with the Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs because some of the Alliance's members

were arrested, including some under-age persons, because they were putting up propaganda material. On the other hand, a report from the security center from Herceg Novi saying that the situation at the border with Croatia is good and that there have been no border incidents was adroitly used for the ruling party's propaganda purposes.

Macedonia

Minister Hopes To Avoid Bosnian Crisis Repeat

AU1812130592 Paris AFP in English 1204 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Report by Nicholas Miletitch]

[Text] Skopje, Dec 18 (AFP)—The first of 700 U.N. troops will begin to arrive in Macedonia in the first two weeks of January to try to prevent a new war in the Balkans, Defence Minister Vlado Popovsky said here.

Following last week's U.N Security Council resolution, the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia is to patrol the western and northern borders of this state to try to stop the Balkan conflict from spreading.

Five UNPROFOR personnel are already in Skopje to arrange facilities for the expected 700 soldiers, 35 observers, 26 police officers and 50 administrative personnel.

"Macedonia asked for about 1,400 troops," Popovsky told AFP. "As we got half of that, we will have to change our plans".

In what is said to be the first preventive deployment of U.N troops, the Security Council has agreed to defend the borders of a country which is still not recognised as independent owing to its dispute with Greece. Athens claims that the name "Macedonia" belongs exclusively to a northern province of Greece.

The U.N.'s concern stems from the fear that should fighting break out between ethnic Albanians and Serbs in the Serbian province of Kosovo, forces from Albania will cross Macedonia to support their kinsmen, and a full-scale Balkan war will erupt.

Macedonian Albanians—between 20 and 50 percent of the republic's 2.3 million population—would also come to the aid of Albanians in Kosovo.

Unrest among the Albanian majority of Kosovo, which lies immediately north of Macedonia, has already attracted international attention. The government of Albania, which marks Macedonia's western border, has given notice that it would intervene in Kosovo if fighting broke out there.

"All the elements for a war are present," said a Western diplomat here, "It is like a time bomb, it could explode at any moment".

The UNPROFOR troops will principally monitor the borders, said Popovsky. He added they could even play a peace-making role if armed clashes broke out.

"Above all," the diplomat said, "we are scared of guerrillas infiltrating Macedonia through that part of the country which is 90 percent Albanian."

The UNPROFOR troops will also monitor the Serbian-Macedonia border to try to prevent infiltration by Serbian fighters who might try to stir up trouble among Macedonia's 35,000-strong Serbian community.

"We hope that the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict will not be repeated here," Popovsky said.

The Macedonian parliament will shorty pass a bill legalising the agreement between the government and UNPROFOR.

Kosovo

Albanians Reportedly Boycotting Elections

LD2012110892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0955 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Pristina, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—With the exception of an occasional voter, Albanians did not go to polls this morning. Members of this national minority, advised by their political leaders, are boycotting the elections in Serbia and Yugoslavia for the third time. In accordance with this decision, even the Albanian language press in Pristina completely ignored everything in connection with election activities on the Serbian and Yugoslav political scene.

Serbian Police Continue Arrests, Village Raids

AU1812201492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] The wave of raids and arrests in Kosovo is increasing. Besides the brutal raids committed in Prizren which resulted in the detention of 17 people, the Serbian police raided several homes in the village of Dushonove yesterday. Among the people arrested was the imam, Feti Hoxha. The Serbian police also committed raids in the villages of Karnovan and Hallaq. Everyone arrested was tortured by the Serbian police. They are still in detention.